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VOL. XVI NO. 36.

## PITHY CRITICISMS

OF EVERYDAY HAPPENINGS IN MODERN SOCIETY.

**Miss Morosini A Mirror For Reformers—Schiff's Bad Campaign Investment—"It Is To Laugh," With the Ice Trust—The Poetic and Real Rarree of Schurz—O'Neil Eats Crow—"Trial Marriages"—Other Items To The Point.**

Miss Morosini, the wealthy banker's daughter who spends \$200,000 a year on her gowns, being shown some correct strictures passed upon her and her class by Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes, is reported to have said: "I live my life as I see it." Miss Morosini is a mirror in which many a pretentious reformer should see his own features. These folks imagine that their interested inability to "see" otherwise than they do is a justification of their "seeing" wrong.

The banking firm of which Jacob Schiff, the lawbreaking recent "dummy director" of the Equitable Life Insurance Association is president must feel sore at the result of the election. The firm invested \$2,500, in the shape of campaign contribution, in the Republican candidate for District Attorney. The investment is lost.

When the five convicted Ice Trust men of Philadelphia were fined \$75 each they laughed, and the District Attorney declared that he was satisfied. Both capitalists and their political officials seem at last to realize that their main function and only utility lies in bringing home to the masses the fact that capitalism is law unto itself, and laughs at any attempt to maintain a contrary doctrine.

The New York "Sun" holds its fingers to its nose as it contemplates the doings of its quondam idol, Senator Thomas C. Platt. It would be interesting if the "Sun" would publish a list of all the models of "morality" and "integrity" whom it once supported and was subsequently compelled to repudiate. The "Sun" has upheld more of these men than any other sheet in town. It has been their official organ, so to speak.

At the Carnegie Hall Carl Schurz memorial services on the 12th instant, the poet Richard Watson Gilder read an original poem in tribute to the man who rose in Germany against monarchic tyranny but in America became a persistent paladin of capitalist despotism. The first stanza of the poem is:—

In youth he braved a monarch's ire  
To set the people's poet free;  
Then gave his life, his fame, his fire  
To the long praise of liberty.

The last line is a poetic fiction, very much of the nature of the poetic fictions often read concerning shoe-blackening and patent medicines. The stanza should read:

In youth he braved a monarch's ire  
To set the people's poet free;  
Then gave his life, his fame, his fire  
TO THE LONG PRAISE OF WAGE-SLAVERY.

Mr. John M. O'Neill has begun to eat crow. At first an unqualified supporter of Sherman, he now feels the cold steel of fact cutting through the rhinoceros hide of his falsehoods, and now he begins to slide down a pole which he will find to be greased. Mr. O'Neill will have to eat a good many more and fuller dishes of crow before the sane and honorable membership of the I. W. W. is through with him and his fellow abettors of corruption and conspirators to turn back the wheels of time by turning the I. W. W. into a craft Union concern, and thereby into the reflex of a pure and simple political party of Socialism. Instead of itself, having gathered the necessary strength, become the reflector of a bona fide political party of the Working Class.

"Trial marriages," recommended by the daughter of the banker Clews, has become the subject of a storm of "indignant protests" from whom? From the Working Class, among whom marriage is permanent, true and pure? No! Comically enough the "indignant protests" come from the camp of the Capitalist Class, where marriage, in 1903

# WEEKLY PEOPLE

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1906.

PRICE TWO CENTS 50 CENTS PER YEAR.

## Documentary Indictment of Pure and Simple Political Socialism



HOW TO  
ELECT  
**MORRIS  
HILLQUIT**  
TO  
CONGRESS



You Can Vote For  
**MORRIS HILLQUIT**  
In the Following Way:

- 1) If you want to vote the straight Socialist Ticket, make your cross in the circle under the emblem of the Arm and Torch, in the third column of the ballot, the ticket of the Socialist Party. A straight vote for the Socialist Party is also a vote for MORRIS HILLQUIT.
- 2) If you want to vote for HEARST and HILLQUIT, make a cross in the circle of the Democratic Party column or the column of the Independence League, and also make a cross in the square in front of the name of MORRIS HILLQUIT on the Socialist Ticket, third column of the ballot.
- 3) If you want to vote for HUGHES and HILLQUIT, make a cross in the circle

of the Republican Party column, and also make a cross in the square in front of the name of MORRIS HILLQUIT on the Socialist Ticket, third column of the ballot.

Make your cross with black pencil only—bring your own pencil and make sure that it is black lead—draw your lines fully within the circle and square.

Make your lines clear and distinct and don't go over any line twice. Last but not least,

Vote for  
**MORRIS HILLQUIT**

THE PROFESSIONAL LEAGUE  
of the 9th Congressional District  
Headquarters: 202 Clinton Street

Mark Your Ballot  
Thus:

**X FOR CONGRESS  
MORRIS HILLQUIT**

You will find his name  
in the Third column  
of the Ballot!

Additional instructions will be cheerfully  
given at the headquarters of the  
League at all hours.

THE ABOVE IS A PHOTO-REPRODUCTION OF THE FOUR FACES OF THE CARD, ISSUED BY "THE PROFESSIONAL LEAGUE," A BODY COMPOSED OF MEMBERS OF THE SO-CALLED SOCIALIST PARTY AS WELL AS NON-SOCIALISTS, AND PEDDLED IN THE NINTH CONGRESS DISTRICT BY THE MANAGERS AND RUNNERS OF MR. HILLQUIT'S CAMPAIGN, WITH THE KNOWLEDGE AND CONSENT OF THE GENTLEMAN HIMSELF.

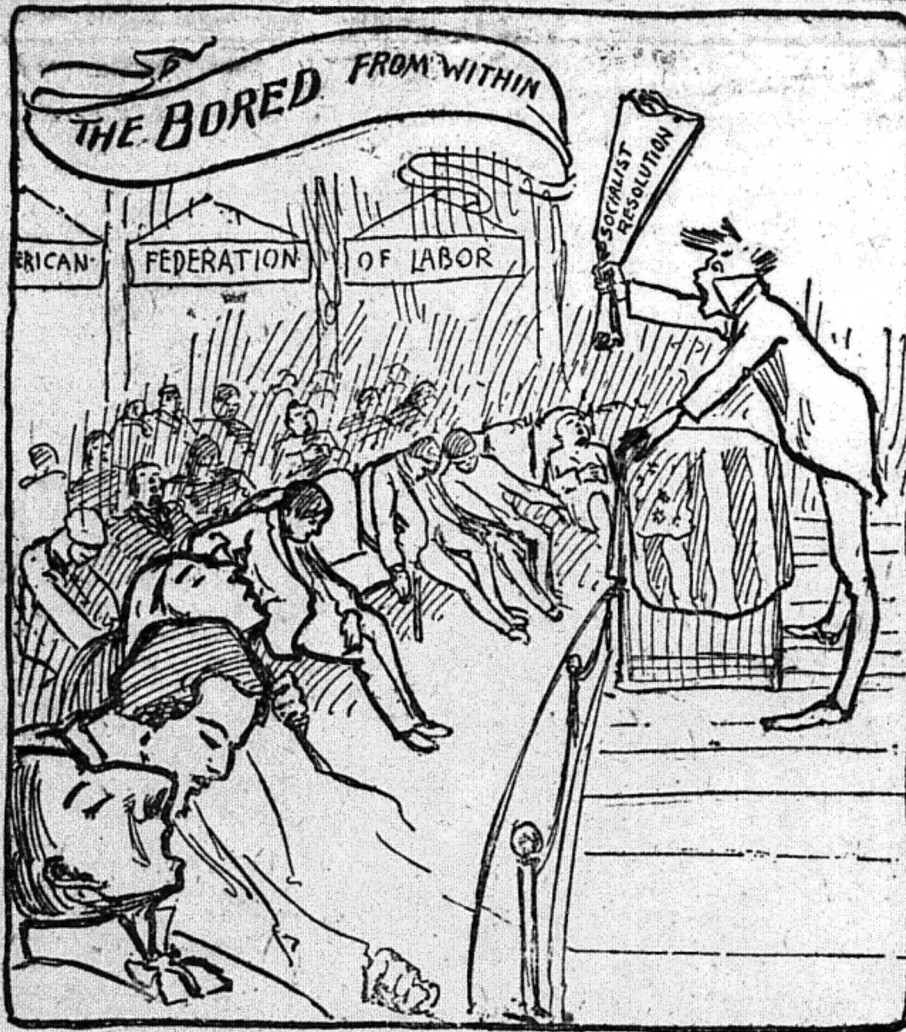
SINCE THE EXPOSURE BY THE PEOPLE OF THIS DISGRACEFUL ACT THE DEMAND UPON THIS OFFICE FOR COPIES OF THESE CARDS, FROM THE CITY AND FROM OUTSIDE THE CITY AS FAR WEST AS LOS ANGELES, CAL., DENVER, COLO., SEATTLE, WASH., AND BUTTE, MONT., FROM AS FAR NORTH AS BARRE, VT., AND SKOWHEGAN, ME., AND FROM AS FAR SOUTH AS DALLAS, TEX., AND NEW ORLEANS, LA., HAS BEEN SUCH THAT THE SUPPLY ON HAND WAS SOON EXHAUSTED. AS THE MALEFACTORS, SO SOON AS EXPOSED BY THE PEOPLE, HASTENED TO DESTROY ALL THEY COULD THE INCRIMINATING EVIDENCE OF THE POLITICAL CORRUPTION REFLECTED BY THEIR CIVIC FEDERATIONIZED A. F. OF L. AFFILIATIONS, AND NO FURTHER COPIES COULD BE SECURED OF THE CARDS, THE COPY PRESERVED IN THE ARCHIVES OF THIS OFFICE IS HERE REPRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY.

cases out of 1,000, are, however pompously solemnized, worse than "trial," but essentially nominal. Witness the fact of the luxurious houses of prostitution, which, like banks, rise and flourish contiguous to capitalist residential quarters—to say nothing of the constant recurrence of "death by appendicitis," as a result of the wrathful encounters of irate husbands with some "trial marriager."

The General Executive Board of the I. W. W. having issued the amendments to the constitution to all the locals, the W. F. M. locals included, Mr. James Kirwan, acting Secretary-Treasurer of the W. F. M., raised objection on the ground that "the constitution of the I. W. W. provides that all departments shall have complete industrial authority in their respective internal affairs." If matters appertaining to the constitution of the general organization are part of the exclusively "internal affairs" of any division, and the division's officers may refuse forwarding such matter from the general headquarters to the locals on the ground of "autonomy," then may we expect to hear Mr. Kirwan justify on the same ground of "autonomy in internal affairs" his acknowledging receipt of only \$8,000 when in fact he received \$9,000 for the Defense Fund.

The announcement is made of "large reductions" of the force of the Pennsylvania Railroad. If read closely and to the end, there will be no reduction. It will be noticed that most of the men discharged "have been with the company from twenty to twenty-five years." This indicates, not a reduction of forces, but a reduction of risks in the insurance establishment of the company which the company compels the men to join. After an employee has served twenty or twenty-five years he draws near the time when he may need the benefit of the insurance. As fast as that time approaches the railroad companies sack the men. That's all there is in the "reduction of forces." Younger men will be engaged, they will have to join the "insurance," and will, in turn, be discharged as soon as they begin to look as if they might need the insurance. "Reduction of forces" is a railroad term which means filling the coffers of the company with "insurance dues" and protecting the coffers against having to pay out anything.

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### THE BORED FROM WITHIN ECHOES FROM MINNEAPOLIS

(The below article was first published in these columns on December 16 1900.

It was that year entitled "Echoes from Louisville, Ky." The article was a pictorial synopsis of the "Debate on Socialism" that took place at the Louisville convention of the A. F. of L. of that year. That synopsis portrayed so graphically, philosophically and lucidly, not the "Debate" of that year only, but also the previous nine periodically recurring "Debates on Socialism" in the annual convention of the A. F. of L.; in fact, it was such a graphic photograph of the downright farcical principle which underlies these A. F. of L. "Debates on Socialism," and that is bound to continue to underlie them so long as the A. F. of L. continues to exist, that it has since been reproduced in these columns from year to year, headed by the above cartoon, and with the promise and forecast that it will continue to appear in these col-

umns from year to year until the day shall have come when—emancipated by Socialist Labor Party consistent and persistent teaching from the intellectual thralldom that to-day holds the bulk of the toilers under the yoke of the Labor fakir, the Labor-Lieutenant of the capitalist class—the working class of the land shall have risen in their might and overthrown for all time the scabby crew of freaks and frauds that annually meets to "debate" Socialism at these A. F. of L. conventions, that is, at these annual Auction Sales of Labor. The below synopsis was, accordingly, republished in 1901 under the title "Echoes from Scranton," in 1902 under the title "Echoes from New Orleans," in 1903 under the title "Echoes from Boston," in 1904 under the title "Echoes from Frisco," in 1905 under the title "Echoes from Pittsburgh," in obedience to the promise made in 1900, and in keeping with the facts,

which every intelligent man, if honest, and every honest man, if intelligent, knew would substantially recur, the synopsis is again reproduced this year and with the same promise and forecast for the future, under the title "Echoes from Minneapolis," where the A. F. of L. convention met this fall.)

The undaunted dozen threw themselves valiantly into the fray for Socialism at the American Federation of Labor convention. The fray was partly on the floor of the convention hall, partly in the brains of some of the contestants, but mostly on the reputations of those who fought the good fight. There were in appearance only two sets of contestants. In fact there were three.

There were, in the first place, the stalwarts who never blanchied in the face of the most terrible wrong, when they did it themselves, and who never

retarded unless somebody said something after their first set up. They were the solid phalanx, the "staunch defenders of Socialism" at every convention of the American Federation of Labor, but whose Socialism was afflicted with a strong taint of Republicanism or Democracy as soon as it was over. This did not matter, because they were Socialists again as soon as another convention came. That was the first set.

On the other side were the men who "opposed" Socialism, and would be terribly offended if it did not make its appearance. For this reason it was always slated to appear, and that it might give offense to none it appeared in such disguise that those to whom it was most dear would never recognize it. It had been the center of many a stirring fight, and then its mangled remains were taken out and placed in cold storage for future reference. That was the second set.

There was a third set, the gudgeons, for whose sake the sham fight was gone through every year. They fought on the side of the first set, and glowered at, and were themselves glowered at by the second set. The "Socialist," alias gudgeon, delegates had introduced a resolution, THE resolution. They waited with past tense nerves and with their passions high wrought, and their trousers turned up for its appearance. It came, it saw—it went again, and nobody was the wiser. When it got the floor, it almost invariably got the table also, but between times there was room enough for those loud and talky debates that mean so much to those who do not understand, and so little to those who do. The enemies of the resolution, in a spirit of zeal and good fellowship, had seen to it that there was no miscarriage in its introduction.

Then commenced the battle royal. The two first sets of men lined up on each side determined to discuss that resolution if it took a whole week at \$6 a day, expenses to be paid by their constituents. There were many hard blows given and taken, and there were many many blowers who gave them. It was so strange and weird that contestants should all have the same object. Of these first two sets, those who supported the resolution did so in order to defeat it; those who opposed it, did so in order to do the same.

Between the two there was a weak puny handful of men, that third set, the gudgeons, who believed that the fight was in earnest—and so it was. It was carried on for the sake of that handful of men. It was carried on so that they might return home and say: "Behold

(Continued on page six.)

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## TOLL OF THE MINES

FRIGHTFUL SLAUGHTER OF ANTHRACITE MINERS.

Nearly Seven Thousand Killed in Twenty-five Years, According to Statistics Available—Accurate Figures Hard to Get—Shocking Disasters Traced to Companies Negligence in Employing Safety Appliances.

Scranton, Pa., November 24.—Almost seven thousand men and boys slaughtered in and about the anthracite coal mines of Pennsylvania is the gruesome record of twenty five years, according to the annual report of Chief Roderick, of the department of mines. The report covers the period from 1870 to 1905.

The anthracite mine law of Pennsylvania was enacted early in 1870 as a result of the calamity in the Avondale mine in the month of September, 1869, by which 197 persons lost their lives through inhaling the smoke and fumes from a burning breaker, says the report. This breaker was built immediately above the shaft, and the mine had no second opening or escape shaft. Before the year 1870, there were no official records kept of the accidents in and about the mines, although accidents were of frequent occurrence and disastrous both to life and property. In proportion to the small number of employes and the small number of mines in operation at that time, the fatalities were very numerous. The act of 1870 was amended in 1885, and again in 1891, but, notwithstanding the legislative endeavor to give greater protection to the workers in and about the mines, the number of accidents has constantly increased.

During the period 1870 to 1879 the anthracite counties were divided into six inspection districts, with six inspectors. The production of coal in 1870, the tenth year of operation under the act of 1870, was 27,711,250 tons; the number of fatal accidents in and about the mines was 262. These figures show that for each life lost 105,768 tons of coal were produced, and 3.81 persons killed for each thousand employed. Between 1879 and 1889 an additional inspector was appointed, making the number seven. The production of coal in 1889, the last year of the second decade, was 38,973,950 tons; the number of fatal accidents in and about the mines was 397, showing that for each life lost 98,171 tons were produced, and 3.32 persons killed for each thousand employed. In 1899, the last year of the third decade, another inspector was added, making the number eight, an addition of two in thirty years. In 1899 the production was 54,034,224 tons; the number of fatal accidents in and about the mines was 461, showing that for each life lost 117,211 tons were produced, and 3.28 persons killed for each thousand employed. During the year 1899 to 1905, a period of six years, the number of inspectors was increased from eight to fifteen. In 1905 the production was 70,220,544 tons; the number of fatal accidents in and about the mines was 64, showing that for each life lost 109,038 tons were produced, and 3.83 persons killed for each thousand employed.

The increase in production from 1879 to 1905 was 153 per cent.; the increase in fatal accidents was 146 per cent. The increase in the number of inspectors from eight to fifteen became effective January 1, 1903, but it will be seen that during the years 1903 to 1905, inclusive, the number of accidents increased, notwithstanding the augmented force of inspectors, and while it is not to be inferred that the increase in fatalities was due to the increased number of inspectors, it is nevertheless a fact that the hoped-for decrease in fatalities was not realized. In order to reduce the accidents there must be more frequent inspection by foremen and assistants.

In the early seventies the annual reports of the inspectors were poorly edited, no care being taken to make them accurate. It has, therefore, been difficult to get reliable knowledge of the anthracite counties at this time, especially Luzerne and Lackawanna, I have been able to unravel some of the apparent inconsistencies in these reports. I have compiled the following accidents by decades, which will enable the reader to get at the facts readily. During the first ten years, 1870 to 1879, 43 persons lost their lives by falling into shafts, 27 by falling into slopes, 11 by falling into manways, 18 by breaking of hoisting

(Continued on page six.)



# AN OPEN LETTER

Chas. H. Moyer,  
Ada County Jail,  
Boise, Idaho.  
Fellow Worker—

The "New Yorker Volkszeitung" of the 22d instant publishes what purports to be a letter from you, in which a number of charges are made against the late convention of the I. W. W., and upon the strength of which, "after long and earnest consideration" you urge the membership of the Western Federation of Miners to reject all the decisions of the said convention.

I must, first of all, admit that I run a certain amount of risk in basing this open letter upon matter taken from a publication of the Volkszeitung Corporation. Since the establishment of the I. W. W., these publications, well known to be supported by corruption moneys of A. F. of L. branches, have uniformly assailed and slandered the I. W. W., going, obedient to their economic determinism, to the length of forging documents against the I. W. W., as has been more than once documentarily proven in the course of the last twelve months. That what now purports to be a letter from you should likewise be a forgery would be nothing out of the way. Nevertheless, considering the intimate relations that have latterly sprung up between several leading officers of the W. F. of M., on the one hand, and the Volkszeitung Corporation publications, on the other hand, the probabilities are that the letter is genuine. I run one chance in ten of being in error. That chance I take. Should it turn out that I am in error, I request you to consider this open letter as unwritten.

You make a number of statements, or charges, to the effect that the convention violated the constitution. In vain do I search your letter for the slightest evidence of proof to substantiate your statements. They are wholly unsupported. Nothing should be easier than the citing of a constitutional provision that is charged with having been violated. No such citation is found. This is all the more striking, if not amazing, seeing that among the misdeeds of the convention, enumerated by you, the "abolition of the referendum" is one, and seeing, moreover, that your letter is addressed to the membership of your own organization with the request that they defeat by their vote the actions of the convention. Such a position ill befits one who

steps forward as upholder of the referendum. Your statements are merely your own conclusions. These conclusions may be ideally correct. But, at referendums, the rank and file is not supposed to pass merely upon conclusions. Conclusions are no argument, let alone proof. They are individual opinions. To request and expect the rank and file to vote upon conclusions only is to request and expect them to "fall in line" with leaders without doing their own thinking. Such a thing is a travesty of the referendum. The referendum is not intended for "followers," it is intended for men. Too long has the working class been undone by a leadership that does the thinking for them, and expects and demands that they follow. It is just this sort of thing that the referendum is meant to put a stop to; to call such a practice the referendum is but to pile a fresh wrong upon an old one.

Unable to find any proof in your letter to substantiate your charges I hereby invite you to produce your proofs; to quote the constitutional clause, or clauses, that have been violated; to advance your arguments in support of your views. I might rest, here, I shall not. I wish to say time. If the convention did any wrong, that wrong should be smashed, and none too promptly. Accordingly, I shall take up your charges or statements, and myself prove that they are without foundation in fact, or in the constitution, but wholly imaginary. That will give you a clean target to hit at. Hit it hard—if it can be hit.

First. You say that, along the lines of the convention, you may "awake some fine morning to discover that the Western Federation of Miners has ceased to be a Department." If this means anything, it means that the I. W. W. constitution recognizes the W. F. of M. as a Department. There is no truth in this. The W. F. of M. is not, never was and never can be a whole Department under the constitution of the I. W. W. We refer you to Sec. 2 (a) Art. II. of the constitution. The constitution recognizes a "Department of Mining Industry." The W. F. of M. as an ore-mining organization, is but a unit, or part of that Department. Other units belonging to that Department are the coal, the salt, etc., mining industries. All these compose the "Department of Mining Industry," not any one of them. The very name of your organization, WESTERN Federation of Miners, precludes the idea of

its being a whole Department. An organization of exclusive territorial domination can not be a whole Department. What does not exist can not be abolished. What the W. F. of M. is to-day is the sole Industrial Union in existence of the several industries which eventually will constitute the "Department of Mining Industry," and in view of this, its officers have been recognized as the Departmental officers; but officers are not a Department. So your supposition of what may happen some fine morning, and what the supposition implies was purely imaginary.—I challenge facts, or constitution, in contradiction.

Second. You charge that the convention abolished Departments in violation of the constitution. Seeing that there were only three Departments supposed to exist, and that the Departmental officers of one of them, the Department of Mining Industry, continue to be recognized, the charge can have reference only to the alleged Department of Metal and Machinery Industry, and the alleged Department of Transportation Industry. Your charge is false. I refer you to Sec. 4 of Art. VII. of the constitution. It provides: "So soon as there are ten local Unions WITH NOT LESS THAN 3,000 MEMBERS in any one industry, the General Executive Board shall immediately proceed to call a convention of that industry and proceed to organize them as an International Industrial Department of the Industrial Workers of the World." It matters nothing to the argument whether the delegates of these two industries at last year's convention padded their vote or not. The fact is that both of them, with a membership greatly below the constitutionally requisite 3,000—one with only about 800, the other with only from 200 to 300 members—were allowed by the G. E. B. to figure as "Departments." In doing so the whole G. E. B., yourself included, violated the constitution. You may not have said "To hell with the constitution," you acted up to the motto. What the convention did—the convention which you jauntily charge with trampling the constitution under foot—when that convention declared the Kirkpatrick and McCabe alleged Departments as non-existent, was to rectify the constitution that had been violated. Or is it your claim that the G. E. B. had a right to violate the constitution, but the convention had none to rectify the violation? The membership are entitled to light upon this

head. The convention did not "abolish," constitutionally or otherwise, either of those two Departments. Their unconstitutional inexistence rendered them non-existent. The convention therefore constitutionally removed the two frauds who claimed seats in the convention by virtue of their original trampling roughshod over the constitution.—I challenge facts or constitution in contradiction.

Third. You charge the convention with having "abolished the referendum in its most important features." The charge has no foundation in fact. To abolish a thing it must first exist. The old constitution mentioned "referendum" in only one place, and that only as a loose provision for the "initiative" demanded by a subordinate part. (Bottom paragraph on page 11.) In point of fact, the old constitution did not provide for the referendum. Even if, indeed, the convention had been opposed to the referendum, it needed abolishing nothing under that head. All it would have had to do would have been to "let well enough alone." But so false is the charge, that this convention it was that expressly provided for a referendum. And the convention did more. It provided for that without which the mere word "referendum" is a snare and a delusion—it provided for the systematic furnishing of INFORMATION to the membership. Over the protest of the McMullens and McDonalds who disgraced the W. F. of M. jointly with Mahoney, the convention provided for the furnishing of the membership with regular stenographic reports of the sessions of the G. E. B., and also with a stenographic report of the proceedings of the conventions.—I challenge you to produce facts, or constitution to the contrary.

Finally you charge the convention with having "unconstitutionally abolished the presidency," and you ask: "If the office of president was to be abolished why did not the convention first submit the matter to a vote of the membership?" The question indicates wherein, in your opinion, lay the "unconstitutional act." According to that the "constitutional method" was to leave the presidency in existence, until the rank and file had approved of its abolition. For one thing, there was nothing in the old constitution to compel a referendum upon the subject, and upon that I again challenge you to produce facts, or constitution in contradiction.

But, it may be argued, would it not

have avoided a lot of trouble if, although the constitution did not demand it, the matter of the presidency had been left for the membership to decide? I recognize the force of the spirit of the objection, but I shall prove that, under the circumstances which confronted the convention, any such concession would have done infinitely more harm than any trouble which the other course can possibly occasion. The situation was this: In the course of the first seven days of the convention the incumbent president was convicted out of his own mouth of apostatizing from the industrial form of organization and of having forced craft Unionism upon applicants for membership on the ground that the industrial form of organization "was 1,000 years too early!" He was convicted of keeping worthless chums of his on the pay-roll as organizers; he was discovered to have discharged an organizer at the behest of a friend of Mitchell's, a behest arrogantly, brazenly and brutally made at I. W. W. headquarters in the presence of a number of people; he stood convicted over his own signature of having his hands up to his elbows in the organization's treasury. Etc., etc. Be kind enough to stick a pin there. On the other hand, the constitution provided the officers shall "hold office until their successors are elected and qualified" (Sec. 3, Art. II.), and it provided (Sec. 2, Art. II.) that the President was to be elected by a general vote of the membership. In view of the situation created by the above facts concerning Sherman, together with the constitutional provisions, NOTHING SHORT OF THE ABOLITION OF THE PRESIDENCY, AND THAT ON THE SPOT, COULD HAVE SAVED THE ORGANIZATION FROM DESTRUCTION. Sherman's subsequent conduct—his organizing himself Kangaroo Court-like into a referendum all by himself with Mahoney, Kirkpatrick, McCabe and Cronin, and among themselves, to the exclusion of the membership, "referendum" the decrees of the convention out of existence; his hiring of detective plug-uglies to furnish him with the physical force whereby to back up his private and usurped referendum rights; his stating in an affidavit in the Court proceedings, over his own signature and under OATH that neither he nor the G. E. B. had at all called the convention; his blowing hot and cold on the subject of the referendum, claiming in one breath that the convention had "heinously

abolished the referendum," and in the next breath, in his endeavor to escape the consequences which he justly apprehended would flow from the referendum, which, in fact, the convention had established, denying, again over his own signature and under OATH in the above referred-to proceedings, that no provision was made in the old constitution for submitting the convention to a referendum; finally, as if to cap the climax, his, jointly with Mahoney's and the rest of his bogus G. E. B.'s, summary EXPULSION from the Board (!!!) of Trautmann and Rindow, an act that not even a legally constituted G. E. B. has authority to perform—all these acts, each and all of public notoriety, several of them, including the last one, being officially announced by himself—all these felonious acts have since fully vindicated the course of the convention. Any other and less swift course would have left Sherman in office as a "hold over," accordingly with power to wreck the convention financially and otherwise. The man is capable of any act. No act is too base for him except an act that requires courage. Had the convention acted otherwise, under the circumstances, it would have been justly held by the membership as culpably derelict in its bounden duty. As things now stand, nothing is lost; no rights have been violated, or tastes done violence to. Should, what is wholly out of the question, the majority of the membership have a taste for Shermanism, they have the power to reinstate him; or if, tho' condemning Shermanism and glad of having been rid of the mischief, they still entertain a superstitious affection for a presidency, they can always amend the constitution to suit themselves, with such safeguards as to prevent the recurrence of the predicament that the organization was in, due to defective enactments in the old constitution.

Sir, there are labor organizations, the craft railroad brotherhoods among them, where, by the EXPRESS LETTER of the constitution, the Grand Chief's vote can outweigh the vote of the whole membership. To what corruption, at the one end, and to what disasters to the workers, at the other end, such a constitutional provision has led I need not here rehearse. Imagine that the sense of manhood, aye, the revolutionary spirit, were to assert itself some day, as it certainly will among these men, and at some critical moment they were to trample, aye, TRAMPLE upon that constitutional provision, and save themselves,—imagine that, and imagine them blamed for their act, and asked "why did you not first submit the matter to a vote of the membership?" Would not you join

in emphatic condemnation of such a crime? If swift action may be justified even where the EXPRESS LETTER of the constitution forbids it, is swift action, demanded by such an emergency as arose in Chicago, to be condemned notwithstanding there was NO SUCH LETTER of the constitution in the way?—I challenge you to controvert these facts, or to present more cogent and constitutional argument.

That disposes of all the concrete charges that I can find in your letter.—The constitution was "violated by the late I. W. W. convention"? No innocent so-called Molly Maguire workmen, or so-called Chicago Anarchists, were ever more unjustly hanged, nor others shot down when on strike, to the tune of "Law and Order!" Invented by the MacFarlands, than the late I. W. W. convention is howled at to the tune of "The Constitution!" Invented by the Shermans, the Mahoneys, the Kirkpatricks, the McCabes and the Cronins. Nor is the purpose of the slogan, raised in either instance, a different one. It is the slogan of malefactors charging others with the crime they are themselves guilty of. The only difference between the two instances is that in the former the malefactors prevailed, in the latter they were whipped.

Sir—regrettable is the fact that the same pen, which, more than any other one pen, smote the shield of the foul capitalist conspirators against yourself, besides Haywood, Pettibone and St. John should now be constrained to open this polemic with you. The pen has not changed. In tearing to pieces the capitalist conspiracy, as well as now in refuting your false accusations against the convention, that pen acts obedient to the same impulse and purpose—the impulse of helping to convey to the working class the varied knowledge, and to impart to them the characterfulness they must be in possession of for their enlightenment and liberation—the purpose of helping to set on foot, building up and perfecting that Industrial organization of Labor without which the Labor Movement will stagnate, politicians thrive, and the working class will be rolled in the dust by their despot capitalist oppressors.

Sir, you have been deceived. Nor will it be long before, if you are the man I take you for, you will admit your error, and will regret—not that you helped destroy the I. W. W.; that is now happily beyond the power of anyone to do—but that you allowed yourself to be duped into a discreditable position by a pure and simple political Socialist cabal.

Fraternally,

DANIEL DE LEON.

## AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION

### From the Frontier to the Factory; Its Social and Political Effects.

WRITTEN FOR THE PEOPLE BY JUSTUS EBERT,  
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

(This essay will be published serially in this and subsequent issues.)

(Continued from last week.)

#### THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

To further appreciate the correct character of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance an understanding of the labor union conditions of the early nineties is necessary. The Knights of Labor was on the wane, and the American Federation of Labor attaining the ascendancy. As already noted, the American Federation of Labor was organized in Pittsburgh in 1881. It was then called "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions." A contributor to the Weekly People, Herman Joseph, of Hartford, Conn., claims that the American Federation of Labor was formed at the instigation and under the patronage of Andrew Carnegie. The facts presented by him, as well as those since developed, through the Federation's coalition with the Civic Federation, give the claim force, making it appear well-founded. The American Federation of Labor is organized on lines that are in sharp contrast to those of the Knights of Labor, and make of it a decidedly pro-capitalist organization. Instead of regarding industry as one comprehensive whole, and organizing therein accordingly, the American Federation of Labor runs counter to industrial and trade union evolution, as embodied in the trust and the Knights of Labor, by laying stress on one of the technical phases of industry, to wit, the specialization of labor. This gives rise to the principle of trade autonomy. The result is to split labor organization for protective purposes into distinct crafts, in which the minor crafts are dominated by and sacrificed to the interests of the strategic crafts, whose members combine to corner jobs. This produces mutual scabbing and jurisdictional squabbles, both of which redound to the employer's benefit. Again, the American Federation of Labor, like its model, the English Trades Union Congress, is based on "the mutual interests of Capital and Labor," and believes in the finality of Capitalism, unlike the Socialists, who point out the antagonistic interests of capital and labor, and regard the capitalist system as a transitory phase of social evolution. The anti-socialist basis of the American Federation of Labor accentuates its pro-capitalist character, virtually giving the black eye to its principle of "mutual interests," for where interests are really mutual such accentuation is impossible. In the official publication of the St. Louis, Mo., Exposition, 1904, President Samuel Gompers, in writing of the American Federation of Labor exhibit in the Social Economy Building, takes occasion to commend with pride the American Federation of Labor to the capitalists of the country. He mentions the fact that the A. F. of L. was instrumental in defeating the Pullman strike of 1894; of defeating Socialism in denying representation to the Central Federated Union at Detroit, and preventing the passage of socialist resolutions in the American Federation of Labor conventions during the preceding five consecutive years.

#### THE CIVIC FEDERATION.

A few years prior to the St. Louis Exposition statement of the American Federation of Labor, the Civic Federation was formed. The Civic Federation is the special creation of one Ralph Easley, a \$10,000 a year professional "social engineer," the capitalist counterpart of the labor union business agent, or walking delegate, as he was formerly called. Mark Hanna, one-time Bismarkian opponent of labor, later national Republican party boss, and always the personification of corrupt capitalism, adopted the Civic Federation idea and made it an auxiliary to his varied personal and class interests. Of this fact, the statements of Mr. Baer in the first great anthracite strike of this century leaves no doubt. The Civic Federation was ostensibly organized to settle labor disputes by arbitration. What it has really done is to impose the domination of the ultra-capitalist class upon the labor movement of this country, in order to maintain and perpetuate the interests of that class. This fact is demonstrated by the many fraudulent arbitration awards made against labor by the Civic Federation, as in the case of the San Francisco ironworkers' strike, the Boston freight handlers' strike, and other strikes too numerous to mention. Also in the damaging criticism made against it by the Manufacturers' Association, a rival body, which virtually charges it with forming an alliance with the A. F. of L. labor unions in order to affect and maintain trade and labor monopolies. The Civic Federation advocates the trade agreement. This trade agreement ends at different dates for the different crafts, binds the trade union to furnish employees in case of strike without resort to arbitration (which often occurs through deliberate violation of the agreement by employers) and compels employees to join the unions. The result is the mutual antagonism of trades unions, and enforced union membership, all of which redounds to the interests of the capitalists affiliated with the trades unions. The membership of the Civic Federation is preponderantly capitalist. All its important offices are filled by capitalists; the "labor leaders" filling the vice-presidencies and vice-chairmanships. The Civic Federation executive committee is composed of thirty-six members, twelve of them represent labor, twelve capital, and twelve "the public." It would require a "million magnifying glass," to quote Sammy Weller, to distinguish the last from the second, so alike are they in thought, interests and conclusions. The American Federation of Labor is allied with the Civic Federation, its president, Samuel Gompers, being first vice-president. When Mark Hanna died, Gompers did not succeed him to the presidency, as was expected under the ordinary rules of parliamentary procedure, but August Belmont, another capitalist, was elected over his head to fill the vacancy. This is another indication of the preponderating ultra-capitalist influence in the Civic Federation.

#### MEMBERSHIP AND POLITICS OF THE A. F. OF L.

When the A. F. of L. was organized in 1891, it had less than 50,000 members. The labor historical works of the eighties make

\* See chart in Sept. 1904 American Federationist, P. 731.

very little mention of it. The Knights of Labor was the dominant organization. With this the American Federation of Labor warred. It logically took issue with the Knights of Labor policy of centralization, secrecy, and socialistic tendencies, especially the sympathetic strike. Political and economic corruption in the Knights of Labor helped this war along. Many are the instances of mutual scabbing that can be recorded in this fight for preservation and ascendancy. The American Federation of Labor gradually won, until in 1890, its membership is claimed to have been 250,000. The membership fluctuated between this figure and 350,000 during the following nine years. Then suddenly, during the period of open affiliation with capitalist organization via the trade agreement—in 1899—it leapt to 600,000. Now under Civic Federation patronage, the American Federation of Labor claims a membership of 2,000,000. This abnormal growth alone reveals the pro-capitalist character of the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor has increased wages, reduced hours and secured improved conditions for its members, but these have been offset by increased cost of living, intensification of labor, the growth of child labor, and other abnormal conditions beyond its influence and control. The American Federation of Labor's policy of securing favorable legislation "through the influence of organized labor," is confessedly a failure; Mr. Gompers "independent union labor politics," in the congressional campaign of 1906, leaving no doubt on that score.

#### MANIFESTO OF THE S. T. AND L. A.

It was amid such influences and against such an opponent that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was formed. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance issued a manifesto setting forth its aims and objects. Declaring that Capitalism had made it impossible for the workingman to be an independent producer, the introduction of mechanical powers having reduced the workers to dependence on the owners thereof, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance pointed out that the worker's labor power has become a commodity bought and sold in the labor market like potatoes or shoe leather; hence the wages of labor rose and fell according to the supply and demand of labor. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance further declared that since the general tendency of wages depends on the labor market, "it will be downward whenever and wherever the number of available workers exceeds the numbers in demand." "The old style labor organization of English origin," which seeks to raise the price of labor by cornering the labor market is shown to be a mere reliance on numbers which does not take into consideration the essential factors which tend to defeat the most numerous combination. These are: first, the inability of the worker to hold his labor power in reserve; second, the power of the capitalist to create a surplus labor supply by introducing new and improved machinery, thereby depressing the price and breaking the combination; third, the ability of the capitalist, through the agency of the government, to suppress all labor combinations formed to raise wages as a crime. These three factors are held to be the direct result of the capitalist system, which compels the laborer under fear of starvation to sell his labor power to the capitalist at the latter's terms: gives the capitalist a monopoly of the means of production, thereby enabling him to improve machinery and overstock the labor market to his own advantage; and, finally, makes the machinery of government an agency of the capitalist class. Other factors, such as competition, which compels the improvement of labor-displacing machinery, and trusts, which reduce the labor forces employed in industry and drive the middle into the working class, are also shown to make for capitalist ascendancy over the old style English no-politics-in-the-union labor trust.

#### THE DOUBLE SEAT OF POWER.

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance conclusion is that "A serious consideration of the facts that control the condition of labor show very plainly that no appreciable improvement is possible as long as the capitalist remains in possession of the means of production and exchange, and in control of the powers of government." It is plain, therefore, that all efforts for such improvement must be chiefly directed to the ousting of the capitalist class from that double seat of power."

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance promised nothing impossible. It knew "that final victory is possible, aye, assured." It aimed, while the capitalist system lasted, to use the economic organization to wring temporary advantages from the capitalist. It recognized the fact that capitalism drives workmen to combine, strike and boycott; and believed that "actuated with the common interests of all the workers" it could maintain a better fight than could the old style organization, while defeats would be considered "merely as skirmishes preceding the great battle of emancipation."

#### S. T. AND L. A. DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

In addition to this manifesto, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance issued a declaration of principles, as follows:

"Whereas, In the natural development of capitalism, the class struggle between the privileged few and the disinherited masses, which is the inevitable and irrepressible outcome of the wage system, has reached a point where the old forms, methods and spirit of labor organization are absolutely impotent to resist aggressions of concentrated capital, sustained by all the agencies of government, and to effect any permanent improvement in the condition of the wage earners, or even to arrest for any length of time their steady and general degradation; and

"Whereas, The economic power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of labor, rests upon institutions essentially political, which in the nature of things cannot be radically changed, or even slightly amended for the benefit of the working people, except through the direct action of the working people themselves, economically and politically united as a class;

"Therefore, It is as a class, conscious of its strength, aware of its rights, determined to resist wrong at every step, and sworn to achieve its own emancipation that the wage workers are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by an unconquerable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle. As members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, we shall constantly keep in view its great object, namely: The summary ending of that barbarous struggle at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization."

#### S. T. AND L. A. STRIKES AND EFFECTS ON S. L. P.

Senator Perkins of California, started the U. S. Senate in 1897, with the foregoing declaration of principles, saying: "This is how the working class is organizing now." It was in accordance with these principles that the Pittsburgh, Pa., Steel Pressed Car Company and the Slaterville, R. I., textile strikes—the leading S. T. & L. A. strikes—were fought and won.

(To Be Continued Next Week.)



# AS TO POLITICS

BY JOHN SANDGREN, SAN FRANCISCO.

The most important issue confronting the working-class to-day is the question of the proper method, the proper tactics, to adopt in order to attain the aim upon which even the most hostile factions agree, namely the overthrow of the Capitalist system. A discussion of this kind leads us immediately to the question: shall it be accomplished through political organization, or through economic organization, or through both. It is imperative that this question should be openly, honestly, and widely discussed, in order to arrive at a solid basis upon which all workingmen may unite, it is imperative that the cloudiness and uncertainty which now divides revolutionary workingmen and frustrates in part their best energies and efforts, should be dispelled. Having very decided opinions on the subject, I beg leave to submit my views, hoping they will be received in the same good faith as they are given, with out prejudice or rancor, solely with the aim of benefiting the working class movement.

The first preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World says "that the workers must come together on the political, as well as the industrial field and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization without affiliation with any political party." The second convention of the I. W. W., held this year, adopted an amendment to this clause to the effect that the I. W. W. does not wish to endorse or to be endorsed by any political party, which amendment no one doubts will be adopted by referendum vote. The amendment does not materially change the original clause. This clause declaring for political unity, but at the same time striking a note-tangere, don't-touch-me attitude to all political parties, has been, and will be subject to an endless variety of interpretations. A document like the preamble should be positive in its statement, not negative. It should outline a definite, absolutely definite, policy, which could leave no room for essential disagreement, between those who endorse its program at least. Its weakness on this point lies in enumerating two things out of the thousand and one things which it does not want, namely, it does not want to endorse any political party and it does not want to be endorsed by a political party. Instead of doing this, the preamble ought to state most positively what the I. W. W. DOES want and thus serve as a fixed star to steer by, instead of presenting us with a moving cloud to steer by, on this most essential point, the question of tactics.

However presumptions it may appear, the writer will undertake to suggest an amendment for the next convention to consider, an amendment which will remove the apparent contradiction and express the ideas and the conception of revolutionary workingmen, and it would be as follows:

To strike out all reference to politics in the I. W. W. preamble.

In defense of a preamble thus amended, may it be allowed to submit the following reasons:

It is not in order to dodge or to escape a difficult situation with which two I. W. W. conventions have unsuccessfully wrestled, that this amendment is submitted for discussion. It is submitted because POLITICAL ACTIVITY MAY JUSTLY BE CONSIDERED OF LITTLE OR NO VALUE for the overthrow of the Capitalist system. If the following arguments in support of such a sweeping statement are defective to the point of making the conclusion wrong, they should be annihilated, in the best interest of the working class.

It is being asserted by the adherents of a revolution at the ballot box, that the working class outnumber the other class as voters (some enthusiasts say "as 10 to 1"). If this statement is true, it would be theoretically possible to vote capitalism out of existence, provided nearly all workingmen could be made to vote solidly for revolution, and provided the class in power would count their vote, and provided the ruling class would abide by their vote, and provided that an economic organization is in existence to "back up" the vote, if the ruling class does not abide by it. But in the final analysis this contention is based upon the statement that the workers are a MAJORITY OF THE VOTERS. The contention stands or falls with the question whether the workers are in a majority at the ballot box or not. Thus far nobody can disagree with me, except those who depend for political success upon the votes of people who do not belong to the working class.

The writer maintains that the working class is NOT in a majority at the ballot box, which he will proceed to prove in the following simple manner, by the aid of statistics.

According to United States statistics, as summed up in Socialist Almanac, page 101, the working class was in 1870,

62.81 per cent. of the population, in 1880, 58.81 per cent., and in 1890, 55 per cent. of the total population. Later statistics I can unfortunately not quote, my little library having been destroyed in the great San Francisco fire. But I am certain that later statistical figures are not such as to wreck my conclusions, as we will find further on.

Taking the figure of 1890 the wage working class is 55 per cent. of the population and the plutocrat, middle, and professional class 45 per cent. Assuming that we have universal and equal manhood suffrage it would then be correct to assume that the working class controls 55 per cent of the votes and the master class 45 per cent.

But these 55 per cent are by no means all voters. In this percentage of workingmen are included men of foreign parentage who have not become voters and the disfranchised negroes, and many other non-voters.

Considering first the foreign-born, included in the 55 per cent., we find that in 1900, according to my best recollection they were about 18 per cent. of the whole population. Of these approximately 12 per cent may be counted as belonging to the working class, and the other 6 per cent. to the other class, these 6 per cent. being nearly all citizens and voters. Of the 12 per cent. belonging to the working class only a small part are voters. A large percentage are not in the country a sufficient time to be citizens, and outside the Celtic and Teutonic races comparatively few foreigners acquire citizenship, partly because they do not learn the language well enough to become citizens, partly because their imperfect knowledge of the language makes them indifferent to citizenship "privileges," partly on account of the difficulty in securing witnesses in accordance with law, partly because they have lost faith in the ballot in the country where they came from. Taking all these factors into consideration it is safe to assume that of the 12 per cent. counted with the working class about 8 per cent have no vote.

Subtract 8 from 55 and you have 47 per cent. as against the 45 per cent. of the other class. Your majority is dwindling dangerously already.

Now we come to the negroes included in the 55 per cent. They number about 10 per cent of the population. Most negroes being wage workers about 7 per cent. of them are included in the 55 per cent. Of these approximately 5 per cent. are disfranchised directly.

Subtract 5 per cent. from 47 per cent. and you have 42 per cent as against the 45 per cent of the other class. Now where is your majority? You are already in the minority, and I have already proven my statement that you do not out number the other class at the ballot box.

But in addition to these large groups who have no voice in the nation's affairs we have an immense number of citizens, who are counted in the 55 per cent., who lose their vote through poll tax, property, and residence qualifications and through the nature of their occupation. About 200,000 seafaring men can not vote. Hundreds of thousands of workers, say over a million, who work in railroad construction, in the woods, or drift from Manitoba to Louisiana with the harvest season, or between the different crops in California and the Northwest, or from mining camp to mining camp or from one industrial town to another, are disfranchised. It is safe to deduct 5 per cent. more from the 55 per cent. Deducting 5 per cent from 42 per cent we get 37 per cent. as opposed to the 45 per cent. of the other class. You are now 8 per cent. behind, which leaves a generous margin to cover any errors made in this argument. That the figures will not stand essentially different in 1910 or 1920, counting by per cent., is also safe to assume. It may be said with some truth that since 1890 the working class has been largely swelled by accessions from a dying middle class, and that nearly a million wage workers (largely disfranchised) come to this country every year, and that the working class as a consequence is now more than 55 per cent of the population. But as stated above the figures were for 1870, 62.81 per cent., for 1890, 58.81 per cent., for 1890, 55 per cent. If the pendulum has swung the other way since 1890, it is still hardly probable that it has swung far enough to give the working class a majority at the ballot box. It is up to my critics to prove that it has, by quoting later, authentic statistics.

It is proven, then, that the working class does not outnumber the ruling class at the ballot box. And a mis in politics is as good as a mile. To fall short 100 voters of a majority is, for all practical purposes, as bad as getting only 100 votes in all.

Only this argument against the value of the ballot as a working class weapon is so strong that I can afford to be

generous. I will grant, for the sake of argument that we do outnumber the ruling class at the ballot box.

Can we, then, judging by past and present success, entertain the hope of gathering, in any reasonable time, that proletarian working class majority upon one program, under one revolutionary banner. Probably not. The ruling class holds the strings of the bread and butter of millions of slaves so tightly that they can not vote for revolution. Furthermore the ruling class controls the schools and poisons the young minds of the children. It owns the press and controls the minds of the full grown. It controls the pulpit, and there pollutes the mind of child and man. What becomes of your working class majority before these facts?

Again, granting for the sake of argument, that we now outnumber the master class at the ballot box, is there any reasonable justification for hoping that the master class will cease to impose new restrictions upon the right to vote, when that has been their course for the last ten years, as witness Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia and other states? Or is there any guarantee whatsoever that our ruling class will not resort to gerrymandering or election geometry, that is, redistributing of districts and representation as has been done in Germany, Sweden and other countries, in order to curtail the effect of a working class vote.

Granting, again, that we not only outnumber the ruling class, but have actually succeeded in getting a majority vote, what hope is there that they will not count us out, as is being done in every election, not only against workingmen's parties but between the masters themselves? What would it matter if we had the vote "backed up with an economic organization?" As long as we insist on accomplishing our aim "legally," so long can the master endure the game of shoving us black on white that we are in the minority, and if we were to attempt any "backing up" of this minority, we would be "illegal" in the eyes of the ruling class anyhow, as long as they are in power.

Having granted so many impossible things, for the sake of argument, let us grant one more. Let us assume that a revolutionary political party carries a national election, and is allowed to take possession of all offices from President down. What will be the result?

As has so frequently been demonstrated, the day of our political victory would be our political funeral. The function of government is to make and enforce laws for the running of the capitalist system and to safe-guard it against all comers. Or in other words, the sole purpose and function of government is to regulate the relations springing from the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and everything connected therewith. But the new form of society, which we are preparing for, does not recognize this private ownership, it proposes to recognize production and distribution on collective lines, a function which cannot possibly be filled by politicians, by a President, a Secretary of War, a Secretary of the Navy, a House of Representatives, a Senate, a Custom House Department, an Internal Revenue Department, etc. Like Shakespeare's Moor, the politicians would find their occupation gone. There would be positively nothing for them to do, unless they were to continue to run society on capitalist lines, the very thing they were supposedly elected to discontinue. Neither can it reasonably be suggested that these men, thus elected, should instantly sit down and reorganize society on co-operative lines. Society may be reformed by decrees and resolution, but a COMPLETE ORGANIC CHANGE, a revolution, as we contemplate, must begin at the bottom, is a matter of evolution within the constituent parts of the organism itself, is a building of cell upon cell until the organism is completed. The so-called political organization does not occupy itself with this task. This task is left to the economic organization such as the I. W. W. which is even now grouping and arranging the individual human units as cells in the future organism of society. Such an organization as the I. W. W. will, when the proper time comes, pass society over from private to collective ownership with no more jar, than when a railroad train, after crossing a steel-bridge, glides over the narrow slit which separates the bridge from terra firma, no matter what its struggle may be before it reaches that point. And such an organization, instead of having to abdicate on the day of victory, reaches first then its perfection, and becomes the permanent form of the new society. Of course I realize that little, if any, objection will be made to this manner of stating the function of the economic organization. The objection I anticipate is that we need the political movement as an auxiliary at least, in the every day battle with the master class. Against this objection I maintain, and will try to prove, that the political propaganda far from being needed as an auxiliary for

(Continued on page 5.)

# REPORT OF GENERAL SECRETARY TRAUTMANN

TO THE DELEGATES ASSEMBLED IN CONVENTION, AND THE MEMBERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, SEPT 17, 1906.

(Continued.)

## Growth of the Organization.

Not for the purpose of showing large numbers is this report made to the delegates to this convention. But those now organized under the I. W. W., comparatively taken, only a few in the army of millions still unorganized, represent to-day the most enlightened, the most vigilant, the most aggressive and the only constructive force at work and in the battle of labor against the oppressors. Without their activity even our opponents of to-day among the members of our class would not receive the consideration at the hands of exploiters which our militant labors alone have brought for them, as the employers are anxious to thwart off the inevitable by being cunningly lovely to those whom they can hold in their baneful influence and of their pliant tools, the labor fakirs, the criminals, wherever we see them at their dastardly work.

When the first review was made, three weeks after the adjournment of the first convention, it was found, on August 1, 1905, that those brave men of the American Labor Union numbering then 1,100, and approximately 700 in the Metal Department, could not be swayed by the denunciations of the opponents in the West, those under cover as friends, often more dangerous than those openly fighting the I. W. W. These 1,800 constituted the only force with which the construction work was begun.

On September 1st the membership had increased to 4,247. The Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance had been enrolled with approximately 1,200 members. Then during September commenced the agitation with literature with volunteer organizers, etc., and at the close of September the records show that the Metal Department paid for 840 members. In other unions directly attached, the membership had reached 4,238, a total of 5,078. November 1st, compilation shows tax paid by the Metal Department on 840 members; others, 4,022; total 5,482. December 1st, Metal Department still paying tax on 840 members; total membership, 7,971. On January 1st the Metal Department, working to get on a substantial foundation, still paid for 840 members; total membership, however, had reached the 8,200 mark. During January no increase could be recorded, for the nefarious work of our opponents had kept many workers away, and at the close of the month a decline to 7,817 was recorded. On March 1st compilation shows that the organization received tax on 1,500 members from the Metal Department. Transportation Department, nil. Tax from unions directly attached, 9,275, making a total membership of 10,775; April 1st shows that the Metal Department is firmly established, paying tax on 3,000 members; others, 10,228, making a total of 13,226. May 1st shows continuous growth; 3,000 in the Metal Department; 195 in the Transportation Department; 13,520 paying dues directly; total, 16,715.

The end of June will show an increase of 3,500 members, bringing the organization up to 21,000 members, the month of July brought an increase of 1,500, and during August, according to reports and taxes paid, about 2,500 new recruits joined the Industrial Workers of the World, bringing the organization up to 25,000 members, according to taxes paid; apart from those, engaged in strikes, and those, who are members of new unions chartered, who will not pay dues before next month.

These figures do not include the Mining Department, which is paying taxes on 22,000 members. However, if the full strength of the organization is to be measured, it may be stated that the Industrial Workers of the World comprise at present 60,000 members in department and local unions.

Industrial councils are organized, although not yet functioning everywhere with a dispatch and promptness, as would be the case if the importance of these bodies be recognized, in the following places:

New York City; Chicago, Ill.; St. Louis, Mo.; Flat River, Mo.; Cincinnati, O.; Paterson, N. J. In process of formation: Industrial Council of Cleveland, Arizona District Ind. Council, Seattle, Wash., Industrial Council, Toronto, Can., Industrial Council.

In this connection it is perhaps worthy of note, that the Metal and Machinery Department is also issuing Industrial Council charters to such central bodies, as consist of unions composed of wage earners employed in those industries. This convention will have to determine whether such is in accord with the basic structural rules of the I. W. W.

Structure of Industrial Unionism. Although the first convention of the Industrial Workers of the World in an elaborate display of words by many

delegates, has formulated the plans upon which the Industrial Workers of the World were to be organized, and has laid a foundation, yet there are apparently so many divergent opinions on the subject, that it is absolutely necessary to readjust and improve upon the foundation, and the convention should place itself on record on this important point, what in reality comprises an industrial union, or a unit thereof. Taking the structure of capitalist society as an example, and also the United States census report, we find the industries of this country subdivided according, and grouped by departments, and industries of departments. The employees of the various industries are not grouped according to their crafts, but according to their industrial occupation. It follows, therefore, that the smallest unit of an industrial union comprises the employees in one industrial plant, organized irrespective of the machine at which employed, and irrespective of the place at which exploited for the profit of the masters, and that all employees be merged together into one union of employees of that respective plant, whether large or small. Likewise should all the employees of industrial corporations, no matter where, and at what place employed, be members in that respective department of wage-earners if already organized. Taking for illustration, the Mining Department: It should embrace within its fold not only the metalliferous, the coal and the salt miners, all the employees in the oil and gas fields and the various plants connected with that industry, but also the employees in oil and gas refineries, the teamsters and distributors of oil, and any other mining products in the large or small industrial centers. They all should belong to the same department in which the workers in the mines, or in the oil fields, are organized.

This should form the basis and foundation, and when upon this structure will be erected it will be lasting, and permanent, and jurisdiction fights as to what department certain employees do belong would disappear.

But while this is the basis and the prospective structure of an industrial union, yet we must reckon with conditions, and consider the fact that the labor movement is passing through a transitory stage, and that it is well nigh impossible to organize the wage-earners in their entirety in one union, except the preparatory work in done by a few, and the knowledge of industrial unionism disseminated among those who are to-day still unorganized, or divided into the various craft unions, often against their own will. It became, therefore, necessary to organize unions apparently on craft union lines, and objections have been raised against such mode of procedure, or apparent compromise with an old conception. As a safeguard against the possible drifting of such unions into interperman craft organizations, it should be understood, and made mandatory, that as soon as a union of employees in any given industry is formed all those in such craft unions must transfer to the respective industrial body, and become active in the affairs of said industrial union. But all recruiting craft unions should be chartered directly from the general administration, so that constant control can be kept over the affairs of such organizations, and the proper alignment be directed as soon as such appears to be opportune and necessary.

Industrial Councils. If it is the final object of the Industrial Workers of the World to prepare the government for the co-operative commonwealth, then, likewise, should provisions be made to organize the agency, through which the administration of cities and rural districts be conducted.

The Industrial Council should, therefore, be organized for that purpose, and the territory to be covered by such organization should be determined by the central administration. Universal rules, only to be amended according to the requirements of given localities, should be adopted by the convention, or the general administration of the Industrial Workers of the World.

While the future functions of such councils will consist in the administration of the industries by the chosen representatives of the various industrial unions, their present-day duties should be to direct the propaganda, the organizing work, the education through central agencies, the direction of strikes, and other means of warfare between the workers and the shirkers, and the supervision of organizers; in fact, all such functions, as will yield better results, if carried out by a collective direction, should come within the jurisdiction sphere of such councils.

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:	
In 1888 .....	2,068
In 1892 .....	21,157
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What is weak must lie;  
The lion needs a but roar to guard his  
young. —TENNYSON.

## GOOD FOR THE JAP!

Out, at last, is the secret of the opposition that is rising on the Pacific Slope to the "Yellow Peril" of the Japanese. In coming out the secret covers the capitalist class, including its A. F. of L. lieutenants, with disgrace as a hypocrite class; wreathes the temples of the Jap workingman with laurels; and holds him up to the American workingman as an example worthy of emulation.

The California State Bureau of Labor, in a report recently published, and not intended to flatter the Japs but to furnish justification for maltreating them, contains this passage:

"It is generally conceded that the Jap is merciless when he has his employer at a disadvantage; that he will work cheaply until all competition is eliminated, and then strike for higher wages, totally disregarding any agreement or contract."

These words should be graven in letters of gold. Being the testimony of a foe, its weight as evidence is prime.

Hitherto the myth was that the Jap was "cheap labor," and that it was "in the interest of Labor" to keep out the Jap. It is not wine alone that brings the truth from the bottom of the heart to the surface of the lips. Distress does as much, witness the damaging confession made by the California Labor Bureau. Upon no less an authority than that capitalist department of the Government of California, its Labor Bureau, the fact is now patented that the Jap is the champion of higher wages, still higher and higher still, aye that he, of all races, is the champion of the Social Revolution in America. It were silly to reason that the Jap would keep down the wages of others and raise his own only. If the only way for him to receive more than the pittance that his fellow wage slaves of other nationalities seem willing to abide by, is first to undersell them, and then "mercilessly" to demand higher and higher wages from the employer, he certainly can not be blamed for first rendering his fellow wage slaves impotent for harm to their own class. Obvious, however, is the fact that if the wage slaves of other nationalities were willing to look upon the employer in the light that the Jap workingman does, and also be "merciless," "contract" or no "contract," there would be no need of first underselling these. Obviously, the Jap is not humbugged by the swindle of "contracts." He knows that there is no contract binding upon the capitalist; he knows that "contracts" are but shifts to cheat the workingman; he has no reverence for the cheat; he simply submits to force, temporarily, and when he has the force his working class instincts assert themselves. Obviously, the conduct of the Jap is an example which the Capitalist Class alone need dread. The successfully "merciless" Jap can not choose but set the pace to his fellow wage slaves of other nationalities—emancipate them from the thrall of superstitious awe to the capitalist cheat of "contracts," and render them as "merciless" towards the capitalist as the capitalist is towards them. At the further end of that line looms the Social Revolution. It is the Capitalist Class that dreads the Jap; the cry of "cheap labor," raised by the capitalist, is of a piece with his cry against taxation—cries to enable him to swindle the Working Class into fighting his battles.

The question comes, Who spoke through the tube of the A. F. of L. Convention, held in San Francisco in 1904, when the Japs were resolutely against? The obvious answer to the question suggests this other, Can there be any doubt that the A. F. of L. is a spokesman of and the bulwark for capitalism?

It was the Jap that heralded the Revolution in Russia. If not heralding the Revolution in America also, the Industrial Workers of the World is doing that, the Jap in America approves himself a veteran for the ranks of the I. W. W.

Good for the Jap!

## THE HORSE SHOW.

It is called the Horse Show, the annual exhibition of blooded horses, now going on in Madison Square Garden, together with the exhibition of "blooded" horse-flesh-loving society women in gorgeous costumes. Nevertheless to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, the show deserves some other name—some name to denote the putrid flower on the topmost branch of the putrid tree of Capitalist Society—some name to indicate the reckless waste of wealth, produced by Labor but wallowed in by Labor's plunderers while Labor, father, mother and children, pine in misery—some name to parallel, in our days, the sight and thought of Nero of old fiddling at the expense of Rome burning. While awaiting for the name of the thing to be given to it by some sociologic god-father, the thing itself should be described.

The "horse-show costume" of Mrs. Reginald C. Vanderbilt, for instance, is given in the papers as "mauve chiffon broadcloth, with deep pointed girdle of mauve velvet; the coat Directoire style, with rosettes of velvet; a large mauve felt hat, with bird of paradise and folds of mauve and yellow chiffon; boa and muff of silver fox fur." This is ladies' tailoring terminology. In order to understand the sociologic bearing of such a costume, the ladies' tailoring language, that the despatches describe the costume in, should be translated into economic language. This is done by the simple algebraic formula of reducing the items of the costume to the common denominator of dollars and cents, and then translating the several dollar-and-cents items into the necessities of life in the homes of the Working Class. The description of Mrs. Reginald C. Vanderbilt's "horse show costume" reads, accordingly, as follows:

"Mrs. Reginald C. Vanderbilt was robed in 50,000 loaves of bread, held around the girdle by 667 workmen's little children's shoes; the coat was 40,000 bowls of vegetable soup, with 300 bushels of potatoes in rosettes; on her head she wore 230 working-women's calico dresses surmounted by 3,666 workmen's shoddy stockings and folds of 2,000 pounds of 'chuck meat'; boa and muff of 1,200 scuttles of coal."

'Tis not the "Horse Show" that's now on exhibition in Madison Square Garden. What's there on silent-loud exhibition is the deep suffering of the Working Class.

## RANK TREASON.

There are plutocratic papers, the New York "Press" among the lot, who feel too sore at the demonstration of the late election to affect to derive any comfort from the "defeat" of Hearst, or from the fresh blackguardism that Croker has indulged in against Hearst since election. Sore to the quick, the "Press" raises the note of warning, and it lectures its Republican party in particular, its class in general. The lecture is naive in its truthfulness and the supposition that it can be taken to heart by those to whom it is addressed. The "Press" says—

"There must be no more Standard Oil direction of legislation.—What! Standard Oil has come to mean the capitalist class. Hardly a capitalist interest but is represented in Standard Oil—railroads, mines, banks, insurance, factories. Are they to stop directing legislation? If they do who is to direct? The only interests left are the Working Class. Is the Working Class to direct legislation?—Treason!"

Again—

"No more Transit Trust theft of Mayoralty elections.—What! Surely the 'Press' can not mean that mayoralty election thefts are to discontinue, but gubernatorial, Presidential, Congressional and other political offices theft are to continue unabated. Surely the 'Press' must mean that all such thefts must be ended. What? What's to become of the capitalist class if it discontinues to steal elections? If it does, the Working Class would be in possession.—Treason!"

Again—

"No more Gas Monopoly annulment of statutes and of court judgments.—What! If Plutocracy obeys its own laws what's to keep them from landing in jail, every mother's son and daughter of them?—Treason!"

Again—

"No more corporation dummies in public office.—What! What but corporation dummies are all the capitalist politicians in office, from the President down? Are they, the political masks of the 'Pillars of Law and Order,' to be kept out of office?—Treason!"

The "Press" is guilty of rank treason.

## AMENDMENT VII.

This, the last of the amendments of special importance adopted by the recent I. W. W. convention, will be found as the 23rd in the Second Bulletin of The Industrial Worker. It is a new paragraph and provides "No member

of the I. W. W. shall be an officer in a pure and simple trade Union."

What a "pure and simple trade Union" is, though often explained, will bear repetition.

A "pure and simple trade Union" is an economic organization of workmen constructed by the plummet of the theory that the working class and the employing class are peers. As a consequence of so absurd a principle the pure and simple economic organization conducts itself, not along the class lines of the proletariat, but along the class lines of the capitalist class—its economics are capitalist, its sociology is capitalist. In point of economics, capitalism is divided into warring factions: the pure and simple Union holds to the identical idea—conflicting economic interests; in point of sociology, capitalism holds that the welfare of the workingman is predicated upon the welfare of his employer: the pure and simple Union, holding the identical view, adjusts itself to the interests of its masters. In short, capitalism holds that it is of all and for all time, the best of all possible social systems: pure and simple Union, gulping down the same view, strains to keep up the capitalist social system.

Industrial Unionism is exactly the opposite of pure and simple Unionism. Industrial Unionism holds that between the employing, or capitalist, class and the employed, or working class, there is nothing in common; that between the two there is an irrepressible conflict; that the conflict is a historic one having for its issue the liberation of the human race from economic bondage, if the working class prevails, or the collapse of civilization, if the capitalist class remains on top.

Industrial Unionism holds that the welfare of capitalism spells the doom of freedom, the welfare of the working class spells the doom of capitalism. Industrial Unionism holds that the identity of interests prevails, only among the workers, and not among the workers and their plunderers. In short Industrial Unionism rears its structure by the plummet of the Class War.

Two such organizations are irreconcilable. There is no middle ground between them. A patching up is impossible; there is no room for log-rolling or dickering. Due to the very intimacy of views between capitalism and pure and simple Unionism, the pure and simple Union often is a portal through which the workingman is forced to pass before he is admitted by the employer to enter the shop and earn his living. Recognizing this fact the I. W. W., not only recognizes the card of a workingman in a craft Union, but gladly accepts craft Union members to membership in its own ranks. One thing, however, is to accept a craft Union member, a wage slave, who is compelled to pay blackmail to the capitalist outpost of craft Unionism, and another is to accept as a member an officer or beneficiary of such a capitalist outpost. In the former case, the I. W. W. must open its doors; it opens them to the victim of capitalism; in the latter case, to accept such a member would be to open its doors to one who is a beneficiary, perchance, if not to 10 to 1, a "labor lieutenant" of the capitalist. In the face of these the convention shut the doors of the organization. The amendment excludes admission to officers of craft Unions, and it cancels the membership of any who becomes such an officer.

This provision is intended to minimize—to wholly abolish is impossible—the danger of capitalist influences worming themselves into the camp of the Working Class. Like all the other decisions of the convention Amendment VII. is the fruit of ripe experience.

Being asked whether he was ambitious to become a financial sovereign, Edward H. Harriman, who, through his recent mastering of the Illinois Central, has become the Emperor of a vast empire of 29,000 miles of railroad, valued at more than \$2,000,000,000, the gentleman promptly, and probably truthfully, made answer:

"To give it all up to-morrow, IF I COULD." There are volumes in that "If I could." It means that it takes a hundred thousand dollars to buttress up fifty thousand; a million to buttress up that hundred thousand; a billion to buttress up that million—and so on. It means that the law of capitalism lashes its favorites ruthlessly onward on a mad, delicious career which compels them to break their own necks. It means, therefore, and above all, that the hecatomb of the Working Class is inevitable while capitalism lasts.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

## AS TO POLITICS.

Elsewhere in this issue will be found, under the above head, an article from an esteemed San Francisco correspondent, John Sandgren. The article falls within the general province of the burning question of Unionism, with a special eye to political activity, as its title indicates. The writer plants himself upon the industrial form of organization, or the I. W. W., as essential to the emancipation of the working class, and proceeds to present a chain of reasoning from which he concludes that the political movement is worthless, harmful and should be discarded, and he calls upon the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist party to "break up camp," and to "turn over their funds and institutions" to the I. W. W. Finally, the writer makes an earnest appeal for the serious consideration of his arguments, and invites discussion thereupon.

The writer's premises are in the main wrong, and his conclusion is not only wrong, but not even logical, his own premises being defective. Nevertheless, the article is timely. Due to its timeliness, seeing that a perceptible anti-political sentiment has lately broken out in several quarters, the article is published. Moreover, in honor to the good spirit which prompts the article, and for the purpose of systematizing the discussion which it invites and preventing the same from degenerating, as such discussions unfortunately but too frequently do, into an indefinite rambling that wanders more or less from the conclusion or the premises under consideration, the article will here be divided into its two main component parts, and these dissected.

## I.

## Working Class Strength At The Ballot Box.

After the first four introductory pages which can be safely left undisputed, whether pro or con, the writer devotes much space to prove statistically that the working class does not outnumber the capitalist class, at the polls, and hence the workingman's ballot can never win. The figures are wrong. For one thing, part of them are nearly twenty years old; for another, the deductions are made only from the figures for the working class, whereas many a deduction should also be made from the figures for the voting strength of the capitalist class. Here are, for instance, a few serious discrepancies between the writer's figures and the figures of the Census for 1900:

The writer estimates the foreign born population in 1900 at 18 per cent.; the census states 23.7. The writer estimates the number of citizens among the foreign born at considerably below 10 per cent. (6 per cent. as capitalists and all voters, and of the remaining 12 per cent. workmen, he says, "only a small part are voters"; the census for 1900 gives 80 per cent. of foreign born males as citizens, and only 20 per cent. of them as remaining aliens. The writer climaxes his errors under this head by subtracting his deductions, not from the working class population in 1900 (about 70 per cent.), but from the working class population in 1890, (about 55 per cent.)

Again, the writer deducts in lump from the voting strength of the working class "about 200,000 seafaring men" as unable to vote; the census for 1900 gives less than one-half that number, only 75,406 as the total for "boatmen and sailors," exclusive of U. S. sailors and marines who are comparatively few, seeing that, together with the soldiers, they number only 43,235 men.

Again, the writer overshoots his own mark. He points to the influence, physical and mental, that the ruling class exercises through "the strings of the bread and butter of millions of slaves" which that class "holds tightly," as well as through its schools, press and pulpit, and concludes therefrom that these slaves "cannot vote for revolution." If these influences, which no doubt must be reckoned with, are so absolutely controlling that these wage slaves will be too timid to perform even such a task as voting, a task that the veriest coward could perform with safety, and they must be deducted in lump from the voting strength of the working class, upon what ground can the writer feel justified to enroll those same slaves as reliable material for the revolutionary act of the I. W. W.? If they must be excluded from the former, they cannot for a moment be thought of in the latter.

No doubt deductions must be made from the voting strength of the working class; but the necessary deductions are not the slashing ones made by the writer. So overwhelming is the numerical preponderance of the working class that, all justifiable deductions notwithstanding, it preserves an ample majority at the polls. Moreover, the revolutionary working class ballot may safely count with re-inforcements from the middle and kindred hard-pushed social layers. While corrupt and

vicious is all attempt to secure split votes for the revolution from classes that vote the rest of capitalist tickets, legitimate is the attempt to induce hard-pushed middle class elements to tear themselves from their class prejudices and plump their vote for the Revolution—and justified is the expectation that big chunks of that class will hearken the summons.—If the decision for or against politics were to depend exclusively upon the numerical strength of the working class at the polls the decision would have to be for, not against.

## II.

## The Mission of Politics.

The second of the two main component parts of the writer's article is devoted to proving that even if the working class ballot were more numerous than the ballot of the foe, the former would be counted out by the latter; and that, even if it were not counted out, working class political victory would be a Barmecides Feast, in that the Socialist Republic has no use for the political or modern form of government. Both these points have been enlarged upon and proven in detail in De Leon's address on "The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World"; they were proved so thoroughly that the pure and simple political Socialists, who felt the cold steel of the argument enter their bourgeois souls, have handled the argument like a hot potato, and confined themselves to vapid slurs about "vagaries," or the more vapid indulgence in "calling names" against the maker of the argument. That argument, however, was made IN SUPPORT of the I. W. W. position regarding the necessity of uniting the working class on the "political as well as upon the industrial field"; the writer of the article under discussion, on the contrary, makes the argument IN OPPOSITION to the I. W. W. position. The opposite application of the identical argument brings out the basic error that underlies Sandgren's reasoning—he confuses POLITICAL AGITATION with the BALLOT. The two are distinct. How completely the vital distinction is missed by those who oppose political action is graphically illustrated by a favorite argument among them, an argument that Sandgren reproduces in beautifully pictorial style when he says that for the working class "to waste their energy on the building up and maintaining of a political organization, which they afterwards have to 'break up,' only to awaken to a realization of its impotence, would be like crossing the river to fill your water-bucket, when you can just as well get your water on this side." This is begging the question. The very point at issue is whether that economic organization, able "to fill the water-bucket," can at all be brought together without the aid of political agitation; the very point at issue is whether the political-ignoring economic organization has hitherto accomplished anything of lasting value to the working class at large; or to put it in yet a third and summary form, whether the decline of power with the economic organization is not due to its contradictory posture of "voting" for one thing and "striking" for its opposite. Of course, if such a thing is conceivable as the bringing together of an industrial organization, able "to fill the bucket" without the aid of political agitation, it were folly to waste time, energy and funds in building up and maintaining a political organization. But the thought is visionary. To him in whom such a thought can find lodgment the blood spilt in Russia during the last sixteen months is blood wasted—and the error is born of the confusion of "political agitation" with the "ballot."

The value of the "ballot" as a constructive force is zero; the value of "political agitation" is immeasurable. Not everything that capitalism has brought about is to be rejected. Such a Vandal view would have to smash the giant machine of modern production as well. Among the valuable things that capitalism has introduced is the idea of peaceful methods for settling disputes. In feudal days, when lords fell out, production stopped; war had the floor. The courts of law have become the main fields of capitalist, at least internal capitalist, battle, and production continues uninterfered with. It matters not how corrupt the courts have become, or one-sided against the working class. The jewel of civilized or peaceful methods for settling disputes is there, however, incrustated with slime. Capitalism, being a step forward as all Socialists recognize, cannot help but be a handmaid, however clumsy, to civilized methods. Of a piece with the court method for the peaceful settlement of disputes, is the political method. The organization that rejects this method and organizes for force only, reads itself out of the pale of civilization, with the practical result that, instead of seizing a weapon furnished by capitalism, it gives capitalism a weapon against itself. The "filling of the bucket" must be done

by the million-masses. The agitation for force only clips the wings of the agitation for the "filling of the bucket." The inevitable result is that the agitation has to degenerate into "conspiracy"; conspiracy can be conducted in circumscribed localities only, such localities exclude the masses—and the wheels of time are turned back. THE BRINGING TOGETHER OF THE PHYSICAL FORCE ORGANIZATION BECOMES IMPOSSIBLE. Political agitation equips the Revolution with a weapon that is indispensable. Political agitation enables the Revolution to be preached in the open, and thereby enables the Revolution to be brought before the million-masses—WITHOUT WHICH THERE CAN BE NO "BUCKET" FASHIONED TO DO THE "FILLING." In short political agitation, coupled with the industrial organization able to "take and hold," or "back up" the political movement, or "fill the bucket," places the Revolution abreast of civilized and intelligent methods—civilized, because they offer a chance to a peaceful solution; intelligent, because they are not planted upon the visionary plane of imagining that Right can ever prevail without the Might to enforce it. Of course, "political agitation" implies the setting up of a political ticket, and that, in turn, implies the "ballot." Indeed, the "ballot" may be lost; let it; the fruits, however, of the "political agitation" are imperishable. UNDER THE SHIELD OF THAT AGITATION THE "BUCKET" IS SHAPED. To Father Time the final issue may be safely left. No doubt there are many thorns to the rose of the political movement. No rose is without them. Irrelevant is the enumeration of these thorns. What the adversaries of political action in the I. W. W. should do in the endeavor to convert their fellow workers of the opposite view is not to indulge in the superfluous repetition regarding the folly of the political movement when the "bucket" is in shape, but how the "bucket" can be put in shape without the aid of the agitation and education which the political movement places in the hands of the Revolution.

The Socialist party will as little "break up camp," by the argument, however crushingly convincing, of the futility of the "ballot," as the Capitalist Class will break up camp by the argument, however crushingly convincing, that it is doomed. For that the S. P. is too legitimate an offshoot of bourgeois thought, which is clogged with "reform" notions, and for which the ballot is a useful weapon. The S. P. will break up camp only when the revolutionary element in its ranks discovers that it is upon their shoulders that such a caricature of Socialism actually rests, and that it is from them only that the caricature draws its strength. The S. P. will "break up camp" only when this revolutionary element, by withdrawing, removes the plug from under the concern. As to the Socialist Labor Party, it never will need to be appealed to "to break up camp" after the "bucket" of the I. W. W., having gathered sufficient solidity, will itself have reflected its own political party. That day the S. L. P. will "break up camp" with a shout of joy—if a body merging into its own ideal can be said to "break up camp."

Prof. Green Goods, known also as George Gunton, a protégé of the Standard Oil Company in whose interest and under whose pay he has monkeyed with statistics and perpetrated the most amusing economic theories to deceive the working class and prejudice them against Socialism, is reported to be "sitting" at the death bed of rich wife No. 2, whose dangerous illness comes as a result of a bogus divorce bill, obtained by Prof. Green Goods against wife No. 1, having been annulled. Prof. Green Goods has ever been an apostle of capitalist class morality.

Joseph H. Choate, the associate of Tweed's lawyer, Elihu Root, has reappeared in his favorite role of defender of law-breaking capitalists and has again got the worst of it. Choate's client the Sugar Trust has been found guilty of violating the anti-rebate law.—There go another set of "Pillars of Law and Order."

The abdication of the feudal over-lord of Congo, King Leopold to a set of American capitalists is the latest blow that the single tax theory receives. The "white parasols and elephants mad with pride," which the single tax loves to quote as an illustration of the powers conferred by a deed of land, do not seem to stick to the landlord but, as the Congo affair once more proves, pass naturally to the capital lord. Capital rules to-day not land.

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UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I am at a loss to comprehend what you Socialists mean by dividing the people into three different classes.

UNCLE SAM—If you would only use your own intelligence, even unaided by Socialist Labor Party literature, you would cease to be "at a loss."

B. J.—We have but one kind of people, citizens; all equal before the law; and our free institutions are for the benefit of all.

U. S.—The devil you say?

B. J.—(testily)—That's just what I say.

U. S.—Mention one of those free institutions.

B. J.—I'll mention you a dozen; 1st, The suffrage; 2nd, The right of any one to go into any pursuit he likes; 3rd, Our free schools; 4th—

U. S.—That'll do. Let us take up the first. You are a motorman; you told me that last election you did not vote. Did you not want to?

B. J.—I wanted to, but could not get off.

U. S.—Why not?

B. J.—I had to work.

U. S.—Why didn't you assert your right of suffrage and vote.

B. J.—And lose my job and starve?

U. S.—(grabs B. J. by the nap of the neck, pulls him to a near pump and holds his head under while he pumps a bucket full of water on B. J.'s head. When B. J. recovered his breath U. S. proceeds)—That much for equality before the law No. 1. Much good does the written "equality" do you if in practice you can't avail yourself of it!

B. J.—tries to dry his head.

U. S.—Now for No. 2. Do you like standing ten and more hours on the front platform of a car, summer and winter, at the starvation wages you complain about?

B. J.—No, I don't like that.

U. S.—Why don't you go into the business of owning your own trolley-line or your own factory and have a good living and "choose your own pursuit," as you claim everyone here can do?

B. J.—I haven't the capital to do that.

U. S.—(pulls B. J. again under the pump and gives his head another soaking. When B. J. has again recovered his breath U. S. proceeds)—You cannot exercise your functions unless you have capital or access to capital; you have none, and the only way you can get access to capital is by selling yourself at starvation wages to the Republican and Democratic capitalists. You have no choice. That much for "equality before the law," No. 2.

B. J.—mops his head.

U. S.—Now for No. 3.—Would you not like to have gone through college?

B. J.—Indeed I would!

U. S.—Why didn't you?

B. J.—My parents were too poor; they even had to take me out of the grammar school to help them earn a living.

U. S.—And the school house was open all the time, ready for you?

B. J.—Of course!

U. S.—(pulls B. J. a third time to the pump and gives his head a third soaking)—That much for "equality before the law" No. 3. Much good does the school do you or the abstract right to go there if the social system that the Democratic and the Republican parties uphold and that you live under bars you from access to the schools through poverty.

B. J.—I tumble.

Among the evidences of "A. F. of L. development towards Industrialism" is the determined opposition made in the A. F. of L. convention to the establishment of a universal label. After a full discussion the matter was pigeon-holed by being left over for the next convention. The argument that "took" was made by the craft Unionist Lennon—"a universal label would wipe out the autonomy of the separate crafts"—correct!

Alas, poor Schmitt! Deserting and hounding labor in the interests of the capitalist class, he now finds himself ground between the upper and the nether millstones of the factional fights of those whom he fain would serve!



## CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS. INSIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

## JEREMIAS DENIES AND IS ANSWERED.

New York, Nov. 13th, 1906.  
Editor of the Daily People.

Dear Sir:  
My attention is called to a letter recently published in your paper over the signature "Cigarmakers' Union No. 90," which claims to state certain facts of a transaction I had sometime ago with the office of Mr. Morris Hillquit. The writer of the letter relates that I had retained Mr. Hillquit to collect for me a sum of \$60 left by my deceased wife, and that Mr. Hillquit collecting said sum, gave me \$35 out of it, and retained the balance of \$25 for his services. The writer of the letter also claims that I was entitled to free services from Mr. Hillquit, in view of the fact that he was counsel for the Labor Secretariat to which Cigarmakers' Union No. 90, of which I was a member, belonged.

In justice to Mr. Hillquit, permit me to say that all these statements are untrue.

My wife, upon her death, left certain savings, bank deposits amounting to about \$750, and I retained Mr. Hillquit's firm to procure for me Letters of Administration without which I could not draw the money. This matter had nothing to do with the Labor Secretariat, as the latter is only organized for the purpose of taking up cases arising from the relation of employer and employee, and accident cases. Mr. Hillquit procured for me Letters of Administration, and enabled me to draw \$750 from the bank. The services involved the drawing of a petition and a bond, attendance at the office of the Surrogate's Court, the procuring from the State Comptroller a waiver of the personal tax, and establishing my identity in the bank, and under the circumstances I consider the fee charged by Mr. Hillquit's firm, \$25, very reasonable. Cigarmakers' Union No. 90 withdrew from the Labor Secretariat for the reason that it found that its members did not stand in need of legal services, and by no means on account of any improper acts on the part of the Secretariat's counsel.

I hope you will publish this letter in your paper as you published the letter signed "Cigarmakers' Union No. 90."

Yours very truly,  
Herman Jeremias.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I hereby reaffirm the correctness of my correspondence published in the Sunday People of November 3rd.

No one familiar with the conditions in that once progressive Union No. 90 can be surprised to see poor Jeremias scared out of his wits by the pressure brought about by the high officials of Union 90 and other characters of the so-called "Socialist" party and made to sign the above instrument, in contradiction of Jeremias' own action when he brought the Hillquit plucking case complaint in and to the attention of the union.

This case was prominently published on the front page of the Daily People at the time it happened. Why was it not denied then? Neither Hillquit nor Jeremias dared to contradict it then. Now, after the expiration of about two years, believing the facts forgotten, they attempt to deny that the Jeremias case was not the cause of the union's withdrawal. It was the Jeremias plucking case that was indignantly and prominently debated in almost every shop and District meeting of the union, when the case was called up for a referendum vote. Yes, only then the poor due-paying dupes got wise that the Labor Secretariat was not "needed"—but the Jeremias plucking case broke the camel's back all the same, and no honest member will deny it. If the Secretariat was useless and not "needed," why did the office holding prominence later on again attempt to get the union to rejoin and, by a referendum, got so badly defeated that they will not forget it very soon?

Does that attempt to force the union, which "was not in need of legal services," to rejoin the Secretariat, show Jeremias to be right when he pretends that the union withdrew from the Secretariat because it was not "needed"? No, it shows that the union withdrew for ANOTHER CAUSE. The argument used by the Hillquit bunch was that the Secretariat was a useful and necessary institution and had already done wonders for the "poor workmen," showing figures and figures to prove it; and the Jeremias case did not come under the jurisdiction of the Secretariat, only cases "between employer and employee" proper, etc.

When our union was originally bunched into the Labor Secretariat we were made to understand that that institution was created for the GENERAL USE OF MEMBERS IN DISTRESS, not

only cases "between employer and employee" as they want to interpret now, and as the union had to pay a monthly PER CAPITA TAX for all members (Jeremias included), he had a RIGHT to demand FREE LEGAL SERVICES in his case of DISTRESS, as we were promised, and not to make a cinch for a private lawyer's firm as Hillquit and Goldfogle did under false pretence. That Jeremias himself believed he was entitled to free services is shown by his having lodged a complaint in the union against Hillquit.

The Bank account of \$750 instead of \$60, as I mentioned in my letter, is something new, \$60 was the sum mentioned in the debate when the referendum came up, and I have given the same as I got it—whether it is correct or not it does not matter one way or the other; the amount of importance in this controversy is the \$25 plucked merely for fee.

Finally Jeremias should be excused for having signed the document. I should be compelled to do the same in his place, knowing that sooner or later he would be made to suffer for it if he refused, and that is also the cause that I am compelled to suppress my name and sign myself Cigarmakers' Union No. 90.

New York, November 21.

## ANENT THE SINCLAIR COLONY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—That scandal in connection with Upton Sinclair's colony didn't surprise me in the least. I knew that a bad break on the part of the gentleman named was only a question of time when, in reading his article in the "Cosmopolitan" on "What Life Means to Me!" I noted that he with becoming modesty, elected himself to leadership in the Revolution. Were a believer, I would say: "Thank God for the I. W. W.!" if nothing else has been accomplished, it has brought the labor movement back to earth with a bump that has jarred the truth out of some of the would-be "Captains" in the fight. No wonder they yell. I would too, if convicted of attempting to force myself into leadership of a movement which I didn't understand. Leaders we must have but they must be appointed from below, on the basis of merit, not self appointed from above, on the basis of egoism.

H. J. B.  
Florence, Colo., November 17.

## ROOT'S ADDRESS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I read with a great deal of interest, Secretary Root's address before the Trans-Pacific Commercial Congress, as printed in full in "The Sun" of November 21. The address is interesting from many standpoints: it is a presentation of conditions as viewed by capitalists; it shows that government is a commercial agency, with its highest officers as commercial drummers, but above all it reflects a decided change in American commercial tendencies that are worthy of note.

Formerly, that is, prior to the Russo-Japanese war, we used to hear much about "the vast possibilities for commercial development among the Asiatic Empires." But with the settlement of that event there has come a decided decline in exports to Japan and China, the figures now being slightly better than those of 1903, so that that talk is now dying out. This decline is attributed to the change in conditions from war to peace which is alleged to no longer require vast exports on the part of Japan. But I think it is really due to the fact that Japan herself is now a manufacturing and exporting country, and entering Asiatic fields under conditions with which American and European countries can not successfully compete. In other words, American capitalism has aided in developing Japanese capitalism only to find that it has helped to create a Frankenstein that is overpowering it in Asiatic countries. But, be that as it may, the decline of exports in this direction, in the face of a constantly increasing productivity, must be made up in another direction; hence it comes that Root calls attention away from Asia to South America.

It must be confessed that, in view of the new capitalism which the Panama Canal will make possible in the South and Southwest, Root could have hardly chosen a more appropriate place in which to deliver his address than in Kansas City.

Capitalism in America will have to hump itself, in order to save itself from being fried in its own fat. That much Root's address makes clear.

A Reader.  
New York, November 21.

## WITH THE I. W. W. ORGANIZED IN STRENGTH, A CRISIS WOULD SPELL "TAKE AND HOLD."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Here's a question:—Say that the I.

W. W. had the workers organized and an Industrial Crisis comes along, would this smash and demoralize the organization like it does the A. F. of L.? Of course, I myself don't believe it would if we had sufficient time to make them understand Socialism. But the question is often asked me.

Personally I don't think a Crisis is far away. Here in this city every one of our local papers are talking about the great demand for workmen, yet in the Typewriter factories of the Typewriter Trust that is presided over by Tim Woodroof chairman of the Republican party in this State, "The Monarch" plant about 4 week ago laid off about two-thirds of its force and told them to seek work elsewhere; and on the 15th of this month, after Tim got their vote, he laid off 300 in the Smith Primer Co. plant. The Franklin Automobile works, were advertising for men a few days ago, yet men go there and ask for work and they tell them they don't want any. This makes me think that things are quieting down and trouble is not far off.

Fraternalty Yours,  
James Trainor,  
P. S.—I think the Monarch while they were running employed about 400 men.  
Syracuse, N. Y., November 19.

## AN OPINION OF THE RECENT ELECTIONS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I received a letter to-day asking my opinion upon the recent elections and if you think it worth the space in the People, you may use it with my answer.

M. Ruther.  
North View Poultry Yards,  
Batesville, Ind., Nov. 14.

A. W. Gluesenkamp & Son.  
To M. Ruther, Holyoke, Mass.,

Dear Sir,—We have been readers of the Weekly People, and your Ad., is the first poultry advertisement we have seen in it. Now I would like to know, have you ever been a candidate on the S. L. P. ticket, and what do you think of the recent elections? What little we have read of the votes cast for the S. L. P. we feel disgusted. If you see fit to answer the above question kindly do so.

A. W. Gluesenkamp.

Holyoke, Mass., Nov. 17.  
Mr. A. W. Gluesenkamp,  
Batesville, Indiana.

Dear Sir.—Replying to your letter, let me say I have been a candidate upon the Socialist Labor Party ticket for twenty-four years, and in 1899 was elected to the Holyoke Board of Aldermen, serving one year.

You say you are disgusted with the vote cast for the S. L. P. in the recent elections. Perhaps you meant to say DISAPPOINTED. I have before me the vote of your state, and can't see why you should either be disgusted or even disappointed.

The Socialist Labor Party, is not a gather-in of votes at elections; its mission is nobler and higher. The S. L. P. takes the ground that as long as the capitalist system of society exists there is no hope or prospects for the working class to share fully in the benefits of modern wealth production. In other words, despite the colossal production of wealth of our time the workmen stands doomed to remain in poverty, degradation, a slave. This is not theory, but facts heaped upon facts until a blind man can see it.

Now what position does the Socialist Labor man assume in the face of these facts? He assumes that the working class must emancipate itself from the capitalist system by destroying it root and branch.

This is titanic work requiring men with courage and knowledge, nor is it the work of a day or a year or even a generation.

It is the business of the Socialist to argue, argue, argue until his fellowman understands, what is wanted of him.

In a cause like this it stands to reason that the new converts are not always clear upon every point and will be apt to be misled by men not wiser than themselves or schemers even. But by our mistakes we learn to find the right road to success.

So far so good. But that is not enough. We must use tactics to put our ideas to the test. One of these tactics is the ballot. The Socialist Labor man holds that via the ballot he must try to get hold of the powers of government to set the Socialist Republic on its legs. But here is where our troubles begin. Everybody believes in the power of the ballot, but with different objects in view. All sorts of political soreheads join our movement because they too see visions of power in the independent ballot.

A man may readily vote for our candidates but will he stay with the candidate should he attempt to put Socialist ideas in force? When I was in the Holyoke city government, I done all that a true Socialist must stand for, but did the voters stay with me? No, they had all sorts of objections to my doings because they were not socialists but only socialist voters. Such voters leave us

## AS TO POLITICS

(Continued from page 4.)

the overthrow of capitalism, is positively harmful to true working class interests. Such propaganda fosters and maintains the illusion that all the evils of society can be mended at the ballot box, which I have shown not to be the case. REFORMS can be enacted through the ballot, but not revolutions contrary to the interests of those who control the ballot. Political activity puts us on a par with the capitalist parties and places us in a position where we have to tacitly endorse and co-operate in maintaining the capitalist system. I will illustrate.

Sabbote Jackson of the S. L. P. had been elected governor of New York, Haywood of the S. P. governor Colorado, or Lewis of the S. P. governor of California, and all three suppositions are unreasonable, for the capitalist class is not going to allow us to play at governing, simply for the pleasure of having us demonstrate our impotency.

What would happen if these three men had been elected together with their whole tickets, controlling state legislature and everything else?

Could they have declared the co-operative commonwealth in existence? Everybody answers no. The legislature would have to sit down and tackle the bitter tasks of making, amending and improving the laws pertaining to the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. To do anything else would bring upon them the U. S. Supreme Court and eventually the U. S. regular troops. They would perforce have to be accomplices of the capitalist class in administering capitalist law to the workers. Could they even shorten the hours of toil or increase the pay of the workers? Experience tell us no. Ten hour laws have been declared unconstitutional in the state of New York. An eight hour law was passed by a referendum by the people of Colorado, but it never was taken up by the legislature, so it never had a chance to be declared unconstitutional, but nobody doubts that it would have been so declared had the legislature passed it. Even a local victory would thus be futile. Oh, but you will say, we could keep the militia off in case of strike. Yes, but could you keep the federal troops off? No, we could not.

In the meantime the Western Federation of Miners and many unions of the American Federation of Labor even have an 8 hour day and a minimum wage. Have they been declared unconstitutional. No, and they did not gain it through political action, but through economic organization. The advocates of political working class activity predicate their success upon being "backed up" by an economic organization which is to take the chestnuts out of the fire for them. The economic organization stands on its own legs and declines political "assistance." The economic organization makes just such demands as it is able to enforce, and it is able to make demands and to enforce them from the very first, it does not have to wait for that hazy day when we shall have a majority. For them to waste their energy on the building up and maintaining of a political organization, which they afterwards would have to "back up," only to awaken to a realization of its impotency, would be like crossing the river to fill your waterbucket, when you can just as well get your water on this side.

One more objection I will anticipate and meet. It will be said perhaps: "The workers have the right to vote, and if we do not give them a chance to vote for revolution, they have no choice but to vote for capitalism." But this objection has only a sentimental value. Some workmen may feel some satisfaction in teasing the bear with a vote for revolution. I, for one, do not any longer. I do not enjoy practical jokes, and still less do I enjoy being insulted by having my ballot counted out. I wish to see my fellow workers quit wasting their time and energy on an illusion, drop politics, and unite in a plan of action which will bring about the results we desire, and that plan of action I find expressed in an economic organization on the lines of the I. W. W.

You will then, finally, ask: "What are we going to do with the political working class organizations already in existence, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Socialist Party?" The question is simple and easily answered. Both these organizations maintain that there is war between the two classes. In the war both of them have rendered splendid service, especially the S. L. P., in educating the workers up to the point where they were able to see the necessity of, and to form an economic organization like the I. W. W. They have done well as propaganda societies, but that is all they have ever been, their names and platforms notwithstanding. That they should have originally chosen the political field was natural, due to the deep rooted idea that all social evils can be cured at the ballot, in a "free" country. But their role is now played. In war, success depends often upon a complete change of front, upon a swift flank movement, upon abandoning one position and taking up a new one. Such movements are often necessary to avoid exposing your own men to your own fire. Such is the position of the S. P. and the S. L. P. now. They are right in the line of fire. Their war cries are confusing and demoralizing the gathering proletarian army and may cause a temporary reverse. What kind of organization is theirs for war purposes? It is a machine, a general staff, composed of sections, of locals, calling in their army (and an unreliable army it is) every two or four years for parade and review at the ballot box and then dismissing it. What sensible man could any longer participate in that sort of stage war? It is up to you to break up

the puppet and take up the struggle from a practical vantage in the I. W. W. and get in the line of fire. Turn over your funds and your institutions at the earliest possible date to the I. W. W. and let us join in the drilling and perfecting of the revolutionary industrial army which is never dismissed, but fights and forges forward irresistibly to the goal, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishing of the new society.

Before closing allow me again to request that my arguments be considered exclusively on their merits, and that every critic give as much time and sincere thought to the subject as I have.

M. Ruther.  
THOMAS GLEASON.  
Local 173 I. W. W. regrets to report that we have lost one of our members through typhoid fever. This time it is Comrade Thomas Gleason. He broke down immediately upon his arrival from San Francisco in a lumber camp in Madera County and died in the city and county hospital of that county.

To his bereaved family we wish to state that Comrade Gleason leaves behind him a host of friends who sincerely mourn his premature death. We offer as explanation for his demise in the flower of robust and ruddy youth the criminal and murderous rule of the capitalist class, which forces the propertyless wage slave to live and work under conditions which make him the plaything of disease and death.

We offer as consolation that he died like a man, in the harness of a useful member of society, and in the harness of the revolution which has for its aim to lift his class, the working class, from the plane of servitude to mastery of the world. He has not lived in vain. His life was short but it was good.

Local 173, I. W. W.

San Francisco, Cal.

Committee.

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Who comes in contact with workmen reading either of these languages should not fail to call attention to these papers and endeavor to secure subscriptions. Sample copies will be sent upon request. Address each paper as per address given above, and not as often the case, to the Labor News.

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## LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

H. A. A., BAY CITY, MICH.—Now to your third question—

The hitherto utter failure of the economic organization to improve matters is no argument against economic organizations. Craft, or pure and simple Unionism is a tub without bottom or hoops.

E. Z., NEW YORK.—The Socialist party in this city is even guiltier than that. Not only were there several members of the party in the "Professional League" which "issued" the disgraceful Hillquit cards in the 9th Congress District, but their Jewish organ the "Vorwärts" published on Nov. 3, on its front page the identical recommendation to split the ticket. The wrong that an organization tolerates is a wrong that it is itself guilty of.

P. D., GLOBE, ARIZONA.—Morgan maintains that cannibalism was an early practice of the human race. The practice did not discontinue until our ancestors found it more profitable to keep their prisoners alive and turn them into slaves than to eat them up. The practice, consequently, could not have ceased until the race had reached the point of some degree of social stability. We are not aware that Engels disagrees with Morgan. On the contrary, he accepted and followed Morgan, who had made vaster and deeper ethnological studies than himself, closely.

F. S., CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—The State from which the largest number of its own natives emigrate to other States is Vermont, the next highest is Nevada, followed by Virginia and Maine. The constituents of the population of Massachusetts are about 37 per cent. native whites of native parents, 32 per cent. native whites of foreign parents, 30 per cent. foreign white, and one per cent. negro.

Next questions next week.

E. T., KALAMAZOO, MICH.—Shocking tho' the methods of the Hillquit campaign were, they almost pale before the revelation made by Winauer and others that the Socialist party watchers induce the capitalist party watchers to credit the S. P. with whatever vote the S. L. P. polled in the election district. We find out it is their habit. Thus they, who should aid in an honest count, conspire to debauch the count. That crowd is a degenerate crew. They are not only hollow within, but strut in other people's feathers.

A. S., MILWAUKEE, WIS.—A copy of Blackstone's Commentaries can be got in any law-book store.

C. H. D., CHICAGO, ILL.—The latest documentary evidence on "The Difference" between the S. L. P. and the S. P. is the photo-reproduction in this issue of the S. P. campaign card in the 9th Congress District.

J. F., BUFFALO, N. Y.—The matter was received and receipt acknowledged Daily Oct. 25, Weekly, Nov. 3. Correspondents are requested to keep their eyes on the "Matter received" list, at the bottom of the Letter Box. It saves this office much trouble.

W. J. B., CLEVELAND, O.—"National debts" are capitalist investments in governments. The capitalist invests in railroads or mines, in a shoe-black factory or in a government, according as he thinks profit will be largest and risk smallest.

W. J. P., BLUE ISLAND, ILL.—Shall be glad to see the article. Send it on. Extracts from your book will appear soon.

D. C., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The challenge of the Capmakers' Journal to Debs was answered by him very much to the point in "The Industrial Worker" of February, 1906. Debs there shows that just as soon as the rank and file begin to "get onto" the grafter, they become transformed in the grafter's mind into "scabs."

J. P., OMAHA, NEB.—There is no essential difference in the statement of the two works. The power to dissolve the Reichstag, lodged in the Bundesrat (the House of the Princes and Nobles) "with consent of the Emperor" is practically the same as the power of the Emperor to dissolve the Reichstag at will. The dissolution must be pronounced by him individually.

M. E. K., CHICAGO, ILL.—Plainly a typographical error. The context shows the passage should read: "At the Chicago Convention of the Greenback Labor Party in 1880," instead of "1800." The writer of the article appreciates the interest taken in his work.

T. W., DETROIT, MICH.—Safe by this time to make an estimate. The S. P. vote fell on the whole fifty per cent. below the poll of 1904. It was fully that in this State and in Chicago. In Milwaukee it remained practically stationary, only a slight decrease. In other places it slumped heavily.

G. G. U., NEW YORK.—The I. W. W. is in full operation and vigorously at work. At least fifteen organizers are in the field. The Sherman outfit is sucking its thumbs, doing absolutely nothing, except issuing love letters to the supposed faithful, and wondering when the pure and simple political Socialists, who got Sherman into the scrape, will perform the second part of their side of the bargain. The first part of the bargain—the booming of Sherman and slandering the convention—they are doing with a heroism worthy of a better cause. But that "batters no parsnips." The second part of the bargain—the furnishing of Sherman untold thousands of dues payers—nothing is seen or heard of. Rumors are to the effect that the pure and simple political Socialists who made the bargain say they are not bound to fill the second part of their contract, seeing that Sherman wholly failed to fulfill his contract. He was to bounce the Industrialists; instead, he was bounced himself, and they feel bounced with him.

E. D., SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—Eventually, if not sooner, war is bound to break out between the U. S. and Japan. The upshot will be the loss of the Sandwich Islands and the Philippines. Our Generals, Admirals and battleships are all "contract" work.

A. S., NEW YORK.—The best work on the subject is Sir Robert Ball's "History of the Sun." The geology, chemistry, physics, mechanics and astronomy that go to make up the study are presented in language that, without weakening scientific treatment, is readily understood by a careful reader.

L. H., BOSTON, MASS.; T. J., WATERTOWN, N. Y.; O. J. M., DES MOINES, IA.; D. V., AUSTIN, TEX.; E. C., NEW YORK; B. S. F., CINCINNATI, O.; C. C. O., MANISTEE, MICH.; F. H., BERLIN, GER.; L. D. T., WORCESTER, MASS.; M. H. S., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.; S. S., CHICAGO, ILL.; W. W., NEW YORK; W. J., CHICAGO, ILL.; E. B., COLUMBUS, O.; M. B., WASHINGTON, D. C.; J. M., BRUSSELS, BELG.; G. U., PHILADELPHIA, PA.; J. A. B., DICKSON CITY, PA.; O. J., CHICAGO, ILL.; J. A. G., PITTSBURG, PA.; F. B., BOSTON, N. Y.—Matter received.

## THE

PREAMBLE OF THE

## Industrial Workers of the World

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT UNION TEMPLE, MINNEAPOL



## OFFICIAL

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**  
Frank Bohn, National Secretary, 2-6  
New Reade street, New York.  
S. L. P. OF CANADA.  
National Secretary, Thos. Maxwell, 798  
Dundas street, London, Ont.  
**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.**  
2-6 New Reade street, New York City  
(The Party's literary agency.)  
Notice—For technical reasons no party  
announcements can go in that are not  
in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

## N. Y. S. E. C.

Regular meeting held at headquarters, Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street on November 23. Lechner in chair. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Communications: From Daily People management relating to Daily People Christmas Box. Concurred in. From New York Labor News Co., statement, showing that the amount of the committee's indebtedness is \$47.14. Filed. From Section Oneida, subscription lists. From Section Chattanooga and Monroe Counties for due stamps.

The following financial report for October was read and accepted: Receipts, state agitation fund, \$199.24; due stamps, \$75.95; Milage, \$18.09. Total, \$294.19. Expenses, due stamps, N. E. C., \$70; legal expenses, Benj. Paterson, \$30.00; agitation, \$16.79; postage and sundries, \$2.73; total \$519.52.

Correspondence Bureau reported having written to Middletown regarding vote and found that mistake had been made in crediting vote to county ticket. State candidates were notified to file expense statements with State Secretary, and blanks procured for the purpose of making out the report of receipts and disbursements of this committee to the state authorities. A call for nominations for members of the S. E. C. was sent to the sections in Greater New York. Steve Mummery had been notified to fill the vacancy on the committee caused by the resignation of Herman Deutsch. Arrangements were made with Rudolph Katz to sift the names of sympathizers throughout the state, and otherwise improve the service of the bureau.

In view of the activity displayed in the matter of lectures by Sections New York and King's Counties, the Correspondence Bureau was instructed to write to Sections Richmond and Westchester Counties, urging them to emulate the same and offering to co-operate with them in that direction.

In the matter of agitation throughout the state during the winter, the bureau and the secretary of the committee were instructed to draw up a statement of methods, also a series of questions, and send the same to the sections up state. Adjournment followed.

Justus Ebert, Secretary.

## RHODE ISLAND CONVENTION.

The regular semi-annual convention of the S. L. P. of Rhode Island is to be held Tuesday, December 4, 8 p. m., at headquarters of Section Providence, 81 Dyer street, room 8, for the purpose of electing a delegate to the N. E. C., also the State Committee for the coming year. No member of the S. L. P. should fail to attend. Readers of the Party Press are cordially invited.

F. Miller, Secretary, S. E. C.

## SECTION ALLEGHENY COUNTY MASS MEETING.

There will be a mass meeting of the members of Section Allegheny County at headquarters No. 2109 Sarah street, S. S., Pittsburgh, Pa., at 2:00 o'clock p. m., Sunday, December 9th, 1906, to continue the discussion on what the attitude of the Socialist Labor Party (as a party) should be towards the Industrial Workers of the World in view of the developments at and since the Chicago convention.

The two meetings already held for this purpose proved so interesting and instructive that we have concluded to continue these meetings until the ground has been thoroughly covered.

Section Allegheny County,  
D. E. Gilchrist, Organizer.

## PARTY PRESS SINKING FUND.

Since the last statement in The People, September 22, the following amounts have been received for the Party Press Sinking Fund:

A. Anderson, Brooklyn, N. Y. .... \$1.00  
W. Cline, Cleveland, O. .... .50  
A. Poise, Cleveland, O. .... .50  
J. W. Billings, Grand Junction  
Colo. .... 1.00  
Wm. Adamek, E. Pittsburgh, Pa. .... 1.00  
20th A. D., New York City ..... 2.00

Total ..... \$7.00  
Frank Bohn, National Secretary.

## CHICAGO, ATTENTION.

Section Chicago, Socialist Labor Party will run an Entertainment and Ball on SATURDAY evening, December 1, at Brand's Hall, Clark and Erie streets. Tickets will be 25 cents.

We will also run a Fair in conjunction with the above; therefore call upon all comrades and sympathizers to send presents for same to the undersigned.

T. M. Davis,  
142 Potomac Ave.

## ILLINOIS' VOTE.

Shows Loss for S. P. and Gain for S. L. P.

Chicago, November 30.—The official vote of Illinois gives Wilson E. McDermott, Socialist Party candidate for State Treasurer, 39,587. Collins, S. P. candidate for Governor in 1904, received 59,062. The S. P. loss, is therefore, nearly 20,000. John M. Francis, Socialist Labor Party candidate for State Treasurer, received 5,706. In 1904, Veal, S. L. P. candidate for Governor, received 4,379. The S. L. P. gains, therefore, nearly 1,400 votes; despite wholesale counting out.

## PENNSYLVANIA'S VOTE.

S. L. P. Makes Good Showing—S. P. Has a Slump.

Pittsburg, Pa., November 24.—The Socialist Labor Party vote in this state is a very favorable one. Desmond, candidate for Governor is credited with 2,109; Clark, for lieutenant Governor, 2,813; Thomas, for auditor general 2,952; McConnell, for secretary of internal affairs, 2,688. The vote of Chas. H. Corregan, S. L. P. candidate for President was 2,211, in 1904.

This vote came to the Socialist Labor Party without any effort on its part, as there were but few public meetings held during the campaign, the energies of its members being thrown into the work of building up the I. W. W.

The Socialist Party vote was 15,169 for Governor and 16,453 for lieutenant Governor. Deb's vote in 1904 was 21,863. This decrease is the net result of their vigorous campaign for votes, in which they had the aid of John O'Neil, the blatherskite editor of the "Miners' Magazine."

## DE LEON IN BOSTON.

Addresses Big Audience On Industrial Unionism.

Boston, Mass., November 26.—On Sunday, November 26th, Knights of Honor Hall was filled to overflowing to listen to Daniel De Leon speak on "Industrial Unionism." Every seat was taken and all of the standing room occupied by attentive listeners, while the lecturer, in his masterly style, laid bare the rottenness of the present system of Society, and revealed to the gaze of his audience the dark means by which the capitalist class rule.

De Leon started by showing that today, on picking up any paper, in discussing any political campaign, in the public utterances on the Social question, by priest, professor, or politician, the one question around which the argument was, sure to wind was the question of the "UNION"; therefore, he declared, "we must understand where the union came from and whither it is going."

The development of trades unionism was then traced, and the uselessness of "pure and simpledom," with its warring factions, to assist the workers, its criminal action and treachery to the workers by its leaders, in the pay of the master class, was exposed in a convincing manner. The development of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the organizing of the Industrial Workers of the World, was traced, showing their mission, and explaining the method by which the workers would gain their freedom; while at the same time, the ridiculous position of those "pure and simple Socialists" with their "neutrality" on unionism was made plain, by showing the audience it twin sister, "neutrality" on the political field, held by others, all of which commanded their tense interest, relieved now and then by laughter at De Leon's unique method of showing up the ludicrous argument, and applause at his telling points.

## EXCELSIOR LECTURES FOR DECEMBER.

The following series of lectures has been arranged by the Excelsior Educational Society for the month of December, at their club-rooms, 235 East Broadway.

Sunday, December 2, Subject:—"Capitalism." Lecturer, Alvan S. Brown.

Sunday, December 3, Subject:—"America, the Home of the Oppressed." Lecturer, James Connolly.

Sunday, December 10, Subject:—"Unity, Wise and Otherwise." Lecturer, Louis Balhaus.

Sunday, December 23, Subject to be announced later.

Sunday, December 30, Subject:—"The French Revolution." Lecturer, Edmund Seidel.

All readers of the Daily and Weekly People are invited to attend. Admission free.

## IMPORTANT TO READERS.

In order not to miss any copies of this publication act as your own agent by sending in your renewal ten days prior to the expiration of your subscription as indicated on your address label which is pasted on the paper. If you can induce your neighbor to read and think ask him to subscribe. Keep on the hunt for new readers and thus spread the education necessary to a proper organization of the workers for their emancipation.

## GETTING TO WORK

## ENCOURAGING RESPONSES TO THE CALL FOR PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY.

For the week ending November 24th, we received 180 subs to the Weekly People and 37 mail subscriptions to the Daily People, a total of 197.

The roll of honor, five or more subs by one person, is: H. J. Friedman, Chicago, 10; J. H. T. Juergens, Canton, O., 10; J. Newman, St. Louis, Mo., 8; F. Zierer, New Brunswick, N. J., 6; A. Gillhaus, Bixbee, Ariz., 6; F. Carroll, San Francisco, Cal., 6.

Prepaid cards sold: Seattle, Wash., \$15; Lowell, Mass., \$2; Hoboken, N. J., \$1.

While it is too soon yet to look for results in response to our present efforts to increase the circulation of the Weekly People, nevertheless we have had some very encouraging answers pledging the support of the writers to this most important work.

Comrade J. H. T. Juergens, of Canton, O., sends in ten yearlies and says: "Comrade and I will look after the old readers and will also get after new ones. We will keep at it." Keeping at it: that is the keynote to success, good also is the idea of breaking new ground. Reach out.

Comrade Jung of Evansville, Ind., sends in a sub and says he will try to get 25 subs by the first of January, and we feel that he will make good too. Let us hear from others as to what they will try and do.

Section Chicago orders a bundle of Weekly People for sale at their coming entertainment. That is the proper thing: have the Party papers and literature for sale at every public function of the Party.

Labor News Co. business was a bit light the past week. To Jeanette, Pa., books, \$10; Scandinavian Section, pamphlets, \$3.18; Florence, Colo., books, \$2; Boston, \$1.90 for books; Webb City, Mo., pamphlets, \$1; Globe, Ariz., I. W. W. Convention report, two copies cloth; St. David, Ill., \$4.80, books. Literary agents should see to it that they have an ample stock of pamphlets for the lecture season.

Now a few words upon an important matter. Section Union County, N. J., has promised to raise \$50 for the Daily People Christmas Box. This action by that Section shows that they appreciate the fact that aside from the money received from subscriptions, additional funds are needed to properly finance the

## TOLL OF THE MINES.

(Continued from page 1.)

ropes and the failure of safety appliances to work, 1 by the engineer losing control of his engine. During the second decade, 1880 to 1889, inclusive, 72 persons lost their lives by falling into shafts, 33 by falling into slopes, 4 by falling into manways, 3 by the breaking of hoisting ropes and the failure of safety appliances to work, 5 by engineer losing control of their engines. During the third decade, 1890 to 1899, inclusive, 82 persons lost their lives by falling into shafts, 43 by falling into slopes, 41 by falling into manways, 9 by the breaking of hoisting ropes and the failure of safety appliances to work, 3 by engineers losing control of their engines. During the six years, 1900 to 1905, inclusive, of the fourth decade, 55 persons lost their lives by falling into shafts, 42 by falling into slopes, 23 by falling into manways, 22 by the breaking of hoisting ropes and the failure of safety appliances to work, 14 by engineers losing control of their engines.

Thus we find that during the thirty-six years, 1870 to 1905, inclusive, 252 persons lost their lives by falling into shafts, 145 by falling into slopes, 79 by falling into manways, 53 by the breaking of hoisting ropes and the failure of safety appliances to work, and 23 by engineers losing control of their engines. This shows that an average of 7 each year was killed by falling into shafts, 4 by falling into slopes, 2 by falling into manways, 1.44 by the breaking of hoisting ropes and the failure of safety appliances to work, and .64 by engineers losing control of their engines.

There is no great reason, continues the report, for the breaking of the ropes in the hoisting shafts, if the ropes and appliances are properly cared for, as directed by law, and changed at regular intervals, according to the amount of work performed.

It is to be regretted, concludes the report, that we can not commend the foremen and superintendents for their care of the workmen while actually engaged in the mining of coal at the face of the workings. Statistics show an awful loss of life among miners and miners' laborers during the past twenty-five years, 1881 to 1905, inclusive. During that time 4,424 miners and 2,452 miners' laborers, a total of 6,876 were killed.

Party institutions. It is gratifying to us to see the comrades take up the initiative in raising the needed funds without being urged from this end.

On the basis of previous years, and taking into account the promise of Union County, the Xmas Box should this year bring at least \$115. This many not seem a very great sum, but it is the total of all the various funds that enables us to keep the Party press on a working basis for the propaganda of revolutionary socialism; therefore let all our Sections and friends who so desire contribute to the Daily People Xmas Box.

Those who cannot make a cash donation to the Xmas Box can however do a little work for the Weekly People which will be just as acceptable. With a little effort each one can send in at least one dollar's worth of subscriptions. Now subscriptions are really not hard to get, everybody is talking about Socialism and that is our opportunity. Of course if you are timid about bringing our press to the attention of people you won't get subs, in fact they won't hear our press unless we make it known to them. Now, then, make up your mind that you will send in one dollar's worth of subs as a Xmas present, and do it.

With everyone who is interested in the movement working along this line we should easily increase the Weekly People by from one to five thousand new readers by Christmas, and that would mean the putting of our press and propaganda upon a still firmer basis. We need more subscribers. As we have often told our comrades, friends, and sympathizers, 25,000 subscribers to the Weekly People would not only mean that our press would be self-sustaining, but that a wider field would be opened for Labor News publications, and that appeals for donations would cease.

Now that the season for gift making is approaching we would say to our friends who generously include the Daily People on their list of those to whom presents should be made: give us donations, those who can, but you ALL can give that which is just as good, if not better, a good big list of new subscriptions.

We shall acknowledge all Xmas subs in amount of one dollar or more, received from one person at one time. Be sure and state it plainly when such subs are Xmas ones. Don't wait for Xmas week to send them in—you can do it now.

## ECHOES FROM MINNEAPOLIS.

(Continued from page 1.)

how Socialism is on the increase. Last year at the convention of the Federation we discussed it for 47 hours and 16 minutes. This year we discussed it for 47 hours and 2 minutes, a net increase of six minutes. There is nothing can hold us back."

When the contest was over, and the vote showed that the Federation would not resolve in favor of Socialism, the fighters, still with the smoke of battle and non-union cigars on them, separated in two "hostile" bodies. One, made up of the two sets of the sham combatants on both sides, made its way to a saloon where ten cent whiskey was sold; the other, made up of the gudgeons who bore and are bored from within, went to a saloon which dispensed five cent whiskey. Then both sides recounted their victory.

"Did you notice," said Gompers when he had filled his glass, after draining in a surreptitious manner the glasses of those about him, "how tractable those fellows became as soon as you let them discuss a thing, and then vote it down? It is the easiest thing in the world. All you have to do is let them talk on a subject and then throw it aside. They are satisfied with the talk." The good cheer satisfied his heart. "Next year, so help me Moses, we'll give them an increase in their vote. They have been very good boys this year, and they deserve some recognition. We humored them just to have them do all the dirty work this year, and they should not go unrewarded. I shall see that they have two more supporters when we meet again. They are becoming tamer and should be rewarded."

In the other saloon the "triumphant hosts of Socialism," that believed in the free and unlimited coinage of words, sat along the table and vowed death to the capitalist system, and carried out their threat "in our time" by gulping down the products of capitalism.

"Did you notice," said one, "how they quailed when we accused them of not being Socialists?"

"Yes," said another, "we shall win. Why, one man came to me and gave me a dollar to start a colony on Hudson

Bay. That could not happen if we jumped on him for thinking differently."

"You got a dollar?"

"Yes, a dollar."

There was a short pause, and those about the table commenced to come nearer to him. It would be impossible to take a trolley car to Hudson Bay to enjoy the fruits of Socialism, but the dollar was still on the premises. It might be a bank note, it might be a silver certificate, and it might be simply two vulgar half dollars. But in sum and substance at any place it would be converted into twenty foaming schooners.

There was a motion put. It was carried, and again peace reigned about the banquet board, but the dollar had departed from their midst, which was now occupied by the gracious spirit of the hop. It warmed them up and it aroused their humanitarianism. They waited until the humanitarianism was in such a condition that it could be steered through a dark alley without trying to carry the side of the wall with it, and then they started to see the men who had donated the dollar, and who were "coming their way."

They found them in the ten cent place enjoying such luxuries as the Union at home could give. A delegation was selected to interview them as there was a decided sentiment against associating with persons who were not class conscious. The delegation returned. The crowd within would be pleased to receive their fellow workers in a common cause.

This overture was sternly refused because no alliance would be tolerated, but a resolution was drawn up when it was found that one of the inner crowd had given a dollar for the purpose of translating Marx into Sanscrit so that all workmen could read it. The resolution was as follows:

"Whereas; the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, refused the proposition of Socialism; and

"Whereas; notwithstanding the fact that they voted it down, they nevertheless manifested an inclination to study the problem of the working class; and

"Whereas; it is evident: that the spirit was one of friendliness to the working class, and the donation was received.

"Be it resolved; that we hereby commend the A. F. of L. for its spirit of tolerance to the working class, and be it further

"Resolved; that we shall come again as soon as this dollar is spent."

Then with three rousing cheers for International Socialism, that bores from within, the dauntless who had bored and bored so assiduously in the Cause; and at the Cause's expense, carefully turned their faces homeward, and then followed them to their destination.

Socialism has made another advance!

## THINGS LOOK GOOD AT I. W. W. HEADQUARTERS.

Chicago, Ill., November 24.—Things look good at the headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World. General Secretary-Treasurer Wm. Trautmann received three charter applications from coal miners to-day.

## ILLINOIS COAL MINERS

Joining I. W. W.—Two Locals Formed; Others Under Way.

Duquoin, Ill., November 21.—Friday, November 9th was the beginning of the organizing work of the I. W. W. in the coal fields of Southern Illinois. Some of the advance guards, however, had done some preparatory work, one of whom deserves much credit; I refer to J. M. Francis, the man who the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America sent to the late I. W. W. convention. A local with 30 members is in working order here in Duquoin and another in Herrin, 25 miles south of here; with others to follow soon. Nine out of every ten of the miners are ready to come to the I. W. W. but they have a fear of losing their jobs.

This fear-of-hunger whip is worse than the Russian knout, to beat the slave into submission. Let every one get in earnest and work with might to build up the I. W. W. before our class lose all courage.

W. W. Cox.

## BOSTON WORKMEN, IMPORTANT!

Because of the very important business that is now before the members of the I. W. W., namely, the referendum on the work done by the late convention, a special meeting of Local 56, Metal and Machinery Workers, will be held Sunday, December 2nd, 10 a. m., at Unity Hall, 724 Washington street, Boston, Mass.

Fellow workers, now is the time to act. Do not hesitate, but act immediately. Bear in mind that, without a thorough revolutionary economic organization, the emancipation of the working class will never be accomplished. Come one, come all and bring your comrades with you. New members will be admitted.

John Forsberg, Chairman.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

## Books for Xmas Presents

FIFTY CENTS A VOLUME, WHICH INCLUDES POSTAGE.

We are frequently asked for advice as to books that should be read on certain topics, and as to what constitutes good literature. So often are we asked for such advice, that we deem it a need probably widespread among our friends, and in order to help them in the direction of good reading we have made a careful selection of standard works representative of some of the greatest authors. These books are for thinking people. They are not books for a day but for all time. We can supply the books, cloth bound, for 50 cents a volume, which includes postage. Such books make ideal holiday gifts, and if your wife, your sister, or your sweetheart, or any one else, contemplates giving you a present, tell them you would prefer one of these books to anything else. Orders must be accompanied with cash, no accounts opened. The titles are:

Aristotle's Ethics.  
Athenian Oracle.  
Augustine, St., Confessions of.  
Becon's Essays.  
Balzac's Shorter Stories.  
Bronte's Jane Eyre.  
Carleton, Stories from.  
Carlyle's Miscellaneous Essays.  
Carlyle's Sartor Resartus.  
Chesterfield's Letters.  
Cicero's Orations.  
Coleridge, Selections from.  
Darwin's Coral Reefs.  
Defoe's Captain Singleton.  
De Quincy's Confessions.  
De Quincy's Essays.  
Early Reviews of Great Writers.  
Elizabethan England.  
Ellis, Havelock. The New Spirit.  
English Fairy and Folk Tales.  
English Prose (Maunderville to Thackeray).  
Epictetus, Teachings of.  
Froissart, Passages from.  
Goethe, Maxims of.  
Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield.  
Gosse's Northern Studies.  
Hazlitt, William, Essays of.  
Heine in Art and Letters.  
Heine, Prose writings of.  
Heine's Italian Travel Sketches.  
Holmes, O. W. Autoerast of the Breakfast Table.  
Hunt, Leigh, Essays.  
Ibsen's Pillars of Society.

Irish Fairy and Folk Tales.  
Jerrold, Douglas, Papers.  
Lamb, Charles, Essays of Elia.  
Landlor's Imaginary Conversations.  
Leopardi's Thoughts and Dialogues.  
Lessing's Nathan the Wise.  
Lessing's Laocoon and other prose.  
Marcus Aurelius, Meditations.  
Mazzini's Essays.  
Mill's Liberty.  
Milton, Prose of.  
Montaigne, Essays of.  
More's Utopia.  
Morris, Volungs and Niblungs.  
Pascal, Selected Thoughts.  
Plato, Selections from.  
Plato's Republic.  
Pityroch's Lives.  
Poe's Tales and Essays.  
Renan, Essays of.  
Renan's Life of Jesus.  
Renan's Marcus Aurelius.  
Renan's Antichrist.  
Sainte-Beuve, Essays and Letters.  
Schopenhauer, Essays of.  
Seneca's Morals.  
Shelly's Essays and Letters.  
Sheridan's Plays.  
Smith, Sydney, Papers of.  
Spence's Anecdotes.  
Steele and Addison, Papers of.  
Swift's Prose writings.  
Tacitus, Annals of.  
Thackeray's Barry Lyndon.  
Wollstonecraft, Mary, Rights of Woman.  
Wordsworth's Prose.

In keeping with the prose writings we have made a selection of poetry, the books being bound uniformly and selling at the same price, viz., 50 cents per volume postage paid. The titles are:

Arnold, Matthew.  
Australian Ballads.  
Ballads of Sea Life.  
Ballades and Rondeaux.  
Clough, Arthur.  
Burns, Poems.  
Burns, Songs.  
Byron, (2 volumes).  
Canadian Poems.  
Chatterton.  
Chaucer.  
Children of the Poets.  
Coleridge.  
Cowper.  
Crabbe.  
Early English Poetry.  
Emerson.  
Fairy Music.  
German Ballads (in English).

Goethe's Faust.  
Goldsmith.  
Greek Anthology.  
Heine, Heinrich, Selections.  
Hugo, Victor.  
Hunt and Hood.  
Irish Minstrelsy.  
Jacobite Ballads.  
Keats.  
Longfellow.  
Love Lyrics, English.  
Moore.  
Nature Poems and Lyrics.  
Poe.  
Pope.  
Sea Poems.  
Shelley.  
Sonnets of Europe.  
Songs of Freedom.

All that mankind has done, thought, gained, or been; it is lying in magic preservation in the pages of Books.—Thomas Carlyle

## NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY

2-6 NEW READE STREET, NEW YORK.

## SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Kings County General Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop avenue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading rooms at 409 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

Section Chicago, Ill., meets second and Fourth Wednesday in the month, 8 p. m. at 592 Fulton street.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every alternate Sunday, beginning first Sunday in November, 1906, at 356 Ontario street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 3 P. M.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every first and third Monday of each month, 8 P. M., at 604 Market street.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O., S. L. P., at I. W. W. Hall, 12th and Jackson streets. General Committee meets every 2nd and 4th Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every night.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st., room 8. Every Tuesday night at 8 p. m. 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures. Science class Wednesday nights.

New Jersey State Executive Committee, S. L. P., P. C. Butterworth Sec'y, 110 Albion ave., Paterson; A. Lessig, Fin. Sec'y, 266 Governor street, Paterson, N. J.

Section Bisbee, Arizona, is still alive and kicking. All S. L. P. men coming to Bisbee, please communicate with M. A. Aaron, General Delivery.

Section Spokane, Wash., S. L. P. free reading room 217 Front avenue. Visiting comrades, I. W. W. members and all others invited. Business meetings every Sunday morning 11 a. m.

Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. Headquarters, 1384 Eddy street, corner Webster street.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P. meets every first Saturday in the month at 8 p. m. Headquarters 815 Hamilton street.